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CSCE Meeting on Armenia, Azerbaijan Viewed

NC3004181993 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] The CSCE's Committee of Senior Officials met in Prague 26-28 April. An Armenian delegation also took part in the meeting. The agenda included reports by Colonel Heikki Haponen, head of the advance group of observers of the CSCE's Minsk Conference Presidium dealing with the talks on the Karabakh problem, on his latest visit to the region.

On the basis of these reports, the CSCE's Committee of Senior Officials (?was going to) ratify the document adopted on 1 March in Rome concerning the observers' duties and jurisdictions.

At Azerbaijan's request, an extraordinary session also was held to examine Azerbaijan's protest concerning Armenia's position regarding the Kelbadzharskiy events.

Azerbaijan once again undermined the course of the negotiations by refusing to ratify the document agreed upon in Rome and by putting forth the precondition that Armenia should be condemned and its troops withdraw from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry declares that the Armenian Government cannot accept any document that might lead to the continuation of military operations and a delay in the talks. The Armenian Government is convinced that the talks can be successful only if the Nagorno-Karabakh authorities participate.

Central European Defense Ministers Meet in Riga

LD0305112893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1030 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Riga May 3 TASS—A meeting of defence ministers of the Baltic states, Ukraine and Moldova opened in the Latvian capital today. Representatives of Poland, Belarus and Romania are also taking part in the forum. Problems of cooperation in the sphere of security are expected to be discussed during this meeting, and questions concerning the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the Baltic region will also be touched upon.

In a televised speech on the eve of the meeting, Defence Minister of Latvia Talavs Jundzis said that the "Dniester region variant" should be studied at the meeting so that anything similar is not repeated in Latvia. According to the minister, he "hopes for economic and moral support in creating the republic's defence forces."

Latvia's Gorbunovs Opens Meeting

LD0305144593 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] We have already reported the meeting of Central European defense ministers in Riga.

Our aim is to defend the independence and statehood of our country. A Central European group that could be formed within the framework of the NATO Cooperation Council would serve as a security guarantor to that. This is what Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, said in opening the meeting. Georgs Andrejevs, minister of foreign affairs of Latvia, and the commander of the Latvian Defense Forces also took part in the opening ceremony.

Delegations from Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Moldova, Slovakia, Poland, and Ukraine have arrived in Riga for this meeting. The aim of the meeting is to develop new cooperation plans in defense issues. Adoption of important documents is also on the agenda of the meeting.

Further on Gorbunovs' Address

WS0405105693 Riga LETA in English 1406 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 3 (LETA)—"We all have one common aim - to protect our independence and statehood, to create market economy, to guarantee rights and freedoms of citizens," Anatolijs Gorbunovs, the chairman of Latvian Supreme Council said Monday addressing the participants of the meeting of central European defence ministers. "Because of that we would like to step up and improve relations with central European countries, particularly in political cooperation in reinforcement of regional security, withdrawal of foreign troops and formation of democratic society."

Gorbunovs stressed that at present Latvia regards the cooperation of the Baltic States both in economic and military sphere as one of the priorities. On June 2, 1992, the defence ministers of the three Baltic States signed the accord that underlined that the Baltic States did not consider any country as their potential enemy and would like to contribute to the peace and stability process in Europe and especially the Baltics.

The cooperation agreement has been signed between Latvian and Polish defence ministries. The draft agreements on cooperation with several other European countries are being prepared and coordinated between the parties. However, it should be noted that even the most successful cooperation of the Baltic States could not guarantee their security, Gorbunovs said. The problem should be viewed in a wider context embracing the whole Europe.

"Our common feature is that the security questions of new states cannot be considered as resolved until we have become a part of the joint European security system. Apparently NATO is not going to admit new members at the current stage as it will inevitably sharpen its internal problems. Still, we could form a central European cooperation group within NATO Cooperation Council or CSCE while taking into account the common features and interests of our nations. Such a group, while not performing functions of a military block, might serve

as a political guarantee and facilitate security, peace and stability," the head of Latvian state suggested.

Security Issues Discussed

WS0405105893 Tallinn BNS in English 1627 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 03, BNS— Defense ministers of the east and central European countries started a meeting in Riga today to discuss a common security program and prospects for cooperation.

The defense ministers of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarusia, Moldova, the Ukraine, Poland, Romania, the Czech Republic and Slovakia participated in the conference.

Ministers Discuss Military Issues

LD0305193193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] A meeting of defense ministers of Central European states ended in Riga today with a news conference. As Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis said, despite the fact that no official documents were adopted at the meeting, it was very significant for the promotion of mutual understanding and dialogue between states that create their own armed forces.

A concept of the development of armed forces, problems concerning the Russian Army, as well as the role of the armed forces of Central European states in the peacekeeping processes of the world, were the most important issues discussed at the meeting.

The leaders of the Latvian Defense Ministry also had separate meetings with the defense ministers of Moldova and Ukraine. An agreement was reached that representatives of the Latvian defense forces would go to Moldova in the near future in order to get more closely acquainted with the main tendencies in the development of the armed forces of that state.

Plans for future cooperation were also discussed with the Lithuanian and Estonian defense ministers. Joint exercises of the defense forces of the three Baltic states will take place in Latvia at the end of May.

Delegate Explains Difficulties at Human Rights Forum

LD0305201693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Excerpts] Geneva, 3 May—Ibrahim Fal, head of the Geneva-based UN Center for Human Rights, said he hoped the preparatory committee of the World Human Rights Conference would successfully complete its session, which is currently taking place here. Speaking at a news conference today, he said that the participants had made a decision over the weekend to extend the session for another week in order to try and settle the difficulties that had emerged during the course of the session. [passage omitted]

Speaking to an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Teymuraz Ramishvili, head of the Russian Federation delegation, said: "From the outset, we have objected to the attempts to regionalize the preparations for the conference." As a result of difficulties that have emerged during the course of the preparations for the Vienna forum, the conference's major aims and tasks are now under question, namely, the strengthening of the mechanism of monitoring the observance of human rights and freedoms and the idea of universal standards of law. The world community needs to take serious steps in the remaining weeks in order to remedy this situation.

Papers Assess Minsk Heads of State Summit

Reciprocal Transactions Issue Unresolved

PM3004185393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 6

[Aleksey Yeroshenko report under "Our Correspondents Report" rubric: "CIS Countries' Heads of Government Working in Belarus"]

[Text] Minsk—Hardly had the dust raised by the presidential limousines settled in the Belarusian capital than an invisible bugle signaled a muster of heads of government here last Wednesday. Admittedly, only the premiers of Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, and Tajikistan flew in. The remaining Commonwealth countries were represented by various levels of vice premiers. But it became apparent all the same that it is no longer an issue of the life or death of the Commonwealth. In four hours' work 15 questions were examined, provisionally divided into three groups: organizational, military, and economic.

A statute on the Commonwealth's coordinating consultative committee was initialed relatively painlessly. Incidentally, enthusiasts have been attempting to cross this bridge for a year, but on every occasion sovereign ambitions sidelined them to a neutral area of the discussions. Even now there were reservations. Ukrainian Premier Leonid Kuchma, remaining true to the tradition of "well, if we really must," only signed on condition that this integrating vertical, the only one so far, will only apply to the economy and not affect the future of fleets and disputed territories.

As if to confirm these pledges, principles relating to participation by Commonwealth states in the first transnational corporation—a car plant at Yelabuga—were enacted. Each state will have a stake proportional to its invested capital. Willingness to cooperate in strengthening the agrarian complex was confirmed. A final decision was made on establishing an interstate television and radio company. Tajik Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Mukhitdinov was approved as chairman of its coalition council. The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border was analyzed and for the first time measures were outlined relating to the responsibility of the states' executive organs of power for meeting the commitments they have taken on.

However, there was still not an inch of movement on the most dangerous stumbling block—reciprocal transactions and the preservation of the ruble area. It is too bogged down in the snowdrifts of sovereign legislation. For the umpteenth time experts have been insistently instructed to look for ways to clear these obstacles.

The premiers, who were modest in their assessments of the results of the meeting, did not even hint at the historic nature of their get-together, but they expressed the hope that another step had been made toward strengthening the CIS. Whether or not the peoples of the former Union will notice the effects of these steps will become apparent in the near future.

Committee Strengthens Economic Ties

PM0305140193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 1

[Valeriy Kovalev and Anatoliy Stasovskiy report: "Everyone Needs Integration. Meeting of CIS Heads of Government Conducted Under Sign of Strengthening the Commonwealth"]

[Text] A routine meeting of CIS heads of government was held 28 April in Minsk. It was conducted quickly, and to all appearances, effectively. Its results are already being given a high evaluation today. The meeting went on for only three hours, but in that time its participants discussed 14 questions in three groups: organizational, economic, and military. They essentially comprise a development of the ideas and proposals which Boris Yeltsin made in March this year. The main step forward was the initialing by the heads of government of the Statute on the CIS Coordination-Consultative Committee.

The formation of the Coordination-Consultative Committee (CCC) and the Commonwealth Executive Secretariat [CES] significantly strengthens first and foremost economic ties between the states. The committee being formed, which will involve vice premiers of all CIS states, is being entrusted with supervision of and responsibility for the implementation of the decisions adopted within the Commonwealth framework. Of course, it is still too early to console ourselves with the illusion that everything will now proceed smoothly. It will probably prove impossible at the moment to avoid the controversial and difficult aspects which will deadlock any committee. Incidentally, this was graphically obvious also at the Minsk meeting, when the heads of government started discussing the state of reciprocal settlements between the Commonwealth member states. The discussion of this problem was protracted, but it did not prove possible to resolve it.

Nevertheless, you cannot ignore the fact that, judging by everything, an optimum mechanism has been found for implementing everything which hitherto has in fact been adopted in the CIS only as declarations. The absence of such a mechanism was considered to be the main shortcoming of the Commonwealth. Several hundred necessary and important solutions worked out during the whole time of the existence of the CIS are, figuratively speaking, already lying on the dusty shelves of history.

As Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich stated at a news conference after the meeting, even a year ago there was no question of the emergence of structures such as the CCC. The leaders of CIS states were afraid even to hint at integration.

Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin also gave a high assessment of the initialing of the statute on the CCC, remarking that "we are finally starting to really move

toward a close economic alliance." An example of this, Chernomyrdin said, is the "automobile production plant in Yelabug. Every state in the Commonwealth is making its own contribution and a real transnational company is being formed."

The specific problems of certain Commonwealth member states occupied an important place at the meeting. A great deal of attention was devoted to discussion of the situation in Tajikistan and the reliable strengthening of its borders with Afghanistan, for example. As we know, so far only Russia has sent its military subunits into this region. The other republics have mainly limited themselves to humanitarian aid. Belarus, incidentally, has declared its readiness to deliver a consignment of weapons to Tajikistan.

The conference also broached the subject of strengthening military cooperation among CIS member states. For example, the need to elaborate additional measures to raise responsibility for the implementation of adopted commitments and agreements in the defense sphere was discussed. These questions are incorporated in the work schedule of the CCC and the CES for the immediate future.

The Minsk conference of Commonwealth countries' premiers—and this can be said with confidence today—was conducted under the sign of integration—primarily integration in the economic sphere. The meeting showed that centripetal trends in the CIS are increasingly clearly beginning to affect the sentiments of Commonwealth political and leadership circles.

Preliminary accord was reached on the next meeting of CIS heads of state and government. This is to be held 26 May in Moscow.

'Yeltsin Nucleus' Blocking Integration

PM3004163793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 2

[Oleg Stepanenko report: "They Had Fun Destroying.... On Results of Minsk Meeting of CIS Countries' Heads of Government"]

[Text] Minsk—Whereas the extraordinary meeting in Minsk of the CIS heads of state proved a propaganda show staged especially for Yeltsin before the referendum, and amounted just to a declaration of best intentions and assurances, the subsequent rendezvous of heads of government gave rise to several more earnest documents (although they were only initialed).

The most important of them are undoubtedly the statutes on the coordinating-consultative committee and on the executive secretariat of the CIS. Coordinating organs are being set up for the first time.

Also initialed were documents on interstate relations concerning questions of the agro-industrial complex, on the creation of an interstate television and radio company, on the principles of the CIS states' involvement in equipping a motor vehicle plant in Yelabuga, on aid for Tajikistan in ensuring the security of its borders....

Concrete steps seem to have been taken. But why do we still get the alarming feeling that the drama of a power torn apart into sovereign fragments is intensifying? This is not only because of the bloody conflicts, the destruction of the economy, and the growth in poverty, crime, and unemployment but also because of the difference in the interests of these "fragments"—which was also shown by the closed session which discussed the question of mutual transactions.

Thus, last year Russia did not settle accounts with its CIS partners, and this year they have not paid many of Russia's bills.

Understanding has long been growing that the CIS in its present form is incapable of resolving the problems facing the peoples since the breakup of the USSR, and that closer integration is needed.

This idea has been worked out in greatest depth here, in Belarus, by [Prime Minister] V. Kebich. In the middle of March he expounded in detail a new concept of relations within the CIS framework. The alliance is to be based on those states whose economies are most closely interwoven and which are prepared to assume quite tough pledges. The alliance itself is to be sustained by the coordination of financial, monetary, and credit-currency policy, by an effective customs policy which does not impede the flow of commodities and resources, and by a mechanism of efficient trade and economic relations.

In general, the premiers of Russia and Ukraine supported the idea of such an alliance at a news conference. "The people themselves do not understand the point of our separation.... It is our sacred duty to strengthen, develop, find ways to resolve, methods and mechanisms for organizing this alliance," [Russian Prime Minister] V. Chernomyrdin said.

Alas, the Russian premier's words—although I have not the slightest doubt about his sincerity—did not increase optimism, because what has actually been happening in the CIS so far is not integration but disintegration. As Commonwealth Coordinator I. Korotchenya said, when the Soviet Union was being broken up, all the documents were signed unanimously, without comment. But when it is necessary to create something like an economic alliance, there are difficulties, complexities, comments, references.... But the chief thing is the position of the "Yeltsin nucleus" in the Russian Government. It was right here, in Belarus, not so long ago that Vice Premier A. Shokhin declared very definitely that the Russian leadership is not posing the question of an economic alliance, that this is an initiative from Belarus and Kazakhstan, and that we are "going over with all the CIS countries to normal trade and economic relations, as with the more distant foreign countries."

In short, it is the "Yeltsin nucleus" that is the force which is standing in the way of an economic alliance, in

the way of integration within the CIS. The Russian president's populist statements about his intention to strengthen the Commonwealth are one more smoke screen for a destroyer.

Shaposhnikov Attendance at NATO Session Questioned

PM3004160593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 2

[Vladimir Potapov report: "With the 'Peacemakers'"]

[Text] Recently in PRAVDA (24 April) the commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces indignantly rejected the claim that NATO General Shalikashvili had received assurances from him that "CIS troops will fulfill any instructions from the NATO leadership regarding the situation in Serbia." "I fulfill the instructions of law and of conscience, nobody else's," the marshal wrote. Ye. Shaposhnikov then set out on a visit to NATO headquarters in Brussels.

There, according to reports received, chiefs of general staffs and representatives of the command of the NATO states' armed forces had met. Participating in the meeting were Gen. J. Shalikashvili, supreme commander in chief, NATO Allied Armed Forces, Europe, and Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces.

The chief topic of debate was the prospects for cooperation in the sphere of peacemaking activity.

What the West invests in the concept of "peacemaking activity" is no secret, particularly when a military grouping is involved in it.

I would like the commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces to say just what form his participation in the debate on NATO's "peacemaking functions" took.

Churkin Sees Better Prospects for Bosnian Settlement

LD0405141393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Russian Federation Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, the special presidential envoy who has returned from Athens, was interviewed by our observer Viktor Levin, who asked: How do you assess the chances of political settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina following the Athens meeting? Churkin replied:

[Begin Churkin recording] The chances of a political settlement have of course increased, because now all three parties to the conflict have agreed to the Vance-Owen plan, the Serbs, or rather Bosnian Serbs, being the last to join. Now we are facing a complex stage of implementing this plan. If you have noticed, I have not said that the political settlement has been sealed - the chances have indeed increased, but are not absolutely guaranteed.

The weeks until the actual adoption of the Vance-Owen plan and the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia are, in my view, particularly vulnerable, especially as the implementation of the plan has to be endorsed by the Security Council as well. It is very important that,in this interim period, all parties including the Bosnian Serbs demonstrate restraint and abstain from any new military operations to prevent the situation from exacerbating.

Sadly, certain reports which are now coming in show that the situation in Bosnia is not indeed all that calm, that individual clashes are continuing. We would like to see this stopped. Otherwise the developments, I repeat, could get out of hand and the situation could quickly move away from political settlement.

Speaking of the political settlement, I must point out that tomorrow is yet another very important day: the Bosnian Serb assembly is due to convene to reconsider the Vance-Owen plan. A few days ago the assembly rejected it, but now, after Coordination Committee cochairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen provided clarifications and explanations and after the three most influential political leaders of Yugoslavia, President Cosic of Yugoslavia, President Milosevic of Serbia, and President Bulatovic of Montenegro, also took a very firm stance at the Athens meeting, I hope that the assembly of Bosnian Serbs will at long last endorse this plan.

To sum up: We await additional political steps: the decision of the Assembly of Bosnian Serbs and the UN resolution. Following this, the prospect of a comprehensive implementation of the Vance- Owen plan will open up. [end recording]

Bosnian Serb Official on Settlement Prospects

PM0405105993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 93 p 3

[Telephone interview with Bosnian Serb "Foreign Minister" Todor Dutina by Aleksandr Kaverznev on 3 May: "What Can the Serbs Expect from the Meeting with 'Roosevelt'?"]

[Text] Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, signed the Vance-Owen plan for a settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina in Athens Sunday. Yesterday we telephoned Todor Dutina, director of the SRNA news agency and foreign minister in the Bosnian Serb Government.

[Kaverznev] Does the fact that R. Karadzic has signed a document, with which the Bosnian Serbs had long disagreed, amount to a concession on their part?

[Dutina] The Western powers' threatened use of military force against the Serbs forced R. Karadzic to sign the document. But this signature has no force until the agreement is ratified by the Bosnian Serb assembly.

[Kaverznev] There have been very diverse predictions about ratification. What is your view?

[Dutina] It will be hard to convince deputies to approve a document which does not amount to a genuine settlement. To all intents and purposes, we are going back to the situation which existed a year ago on the eve of the international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Kaverznev] Will the Serbs now be forced to abandon territory they captured during the year-long war?

[Dutina] It is not a question of territory. The point is that the Serbs living in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia itself will be separated; they will have to live in different states.

Our position can be compared to that of the 25 million Russians living outside the Russian Federation. But there is a fundamental difference—the Russians are not living in hostile surroundings. The Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia are surrounded by enemies. The 600,000-700,000 Serbs in Croatia are in Tudjman's hands. All this could result in further genocide against the Serbian population. The Serbian people are being refused the right of national self-determination.

Clinton, Yeltsin Urged To Heed Opposition on Bosnia

MK0405110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 13, 4 May 93 p 6 (Signed to Press 3 March 93)

[Vladimir Abarinov article under the rubric "Alternative": "Clinton Versus Owen? Split in Allies' Camp: 'Party of War' Faces Obstruction"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Secretary of State Christopher arrives in Moscow today. Russian diplomats have

repeatedly stated that lifting the arms embargo is unacceptable. True, this was before the well-known statement by President Yeltsin where he fully subscribed to the West's stance. On the other hand, Western unity, as we can see, has also developed a crack. However much the diplomats try to assure us that Russia's approach to a Bosnian settlement does not correlate in any way with the internal political situation in our country, everyone can see that this is not so. The Supreme Soviet's resolutions can well be disregarded—Vitaliy Churkin has already stated that they were in the nature of recommendations rather than directives, and this is in line with international experience: Both the U.S. Congress and the FRG Bundestag have already voted for the lifting of the embargo, thus giving their governments a free hand, but never obliging them to insist on the lifting. It is different with our opposition, which has gone berserk, issuing threats of the "people's wrath" to foreigners who find themselves "on the territory of Russia and in places of dense Slavic population." Neither President Yeltsin nor President Clinton can ignore this threat, and have no right to do so.

By all appearances, Warren Christopher and Andrey Kozyrev are in for a hard day tomorrow. Logic suggests that they should wait for a decision which will also be made tomorrow by the Bosnian Serbs' assembly. It is easy to guess at Christopher's counterargument: Karadzic's agreement is, he would say, yet another ploy to buy time. This may be so. But there is also the view that Bosnian Muslims have signed the map, to say nothing about the constitution, precisely because they knew: The Serbs would never sign it.

Kozyrev, Portugal's Barroso Discuss Bosnia, Angola

LD0405162293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1449 GMT 4 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Smelyakov]

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met his Portuguese counterpart Jose Manuel Durao Barroso here today to discuss aspects of bilateral relations, including the upcoming visit of Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Antonio Cavaco Silva to Russia, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Angola.

The sides reached an essential agreement on further discussion of the situation in Angola.

"The Russian-Portuguese relations are on the rise," the Russian foreign minister told correspondents. "We share Portugal's concern over the Angolan situation and intend to continue searching for a solution to this problem".

Portugal likes Russia for its adherence to democratic principles, which brings the two countries closer together, the Portuguese foreign minister said, in his turn. He stressed with satisfaction stands of the sides coincided on some aspects in discussion on Bosnia and Herzegovina. As for the situation in Angola, Portugal will continue the discussion on the problem, including with the United States and the U.N.; peace in Angola is possible, he said.

Yeltsin Envoy Continues Visit to South Africa

Meets ANC Leaders

LD0305220293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1935 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Johannesburg, 3 May—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Kolokolov, special envoy of the Russian Federation president, is continuing his tour of the Republic of South Africa. He has met Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. A personal message from Russia's President Boris Yeltsin was delivered to Mandela.

Later, at a meeting with the ANC leadership that took place at its headquarters, a wide range of questions related to the situation in South Africa and neighboring states were discussed. A view was expressed that there was a certain coincidence in the assessment of the developments in the South African region. The importance of ANC efforts to abolish the system of apartheid by way of negotiations was emphasized. Mr. Kolokolov communicated to the meeting President Yeltsin's wishes to ANC leaders that the problems facing South Africa be resolved by peaceful political means.

Talks With Counterpart

LD0305220693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1940 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Pretoria, 3 May—[Russian Deputy Foreign Minister] Boris Kolokolov held extensive consultations on African problems in general and on the situation in Angola and Mozambique in particular at the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of South Africa today. Among others, he spoke to Renier Schoeman, South African deputy foreign minister, and Albert Van Niekerk, deputy director general of the Foreign Ministry. Both sides agreed that their dialogue was useful in terms of finding possibilities for Russian-South African interaction on resolving critical situations in this part of the world.

A substantiated and constructive discussion of the whole spectrum of Russian-South African relations also took place. Satisfaction was expressed over the level of their development—reached after a recent establishment of diplomatic relations and following South African President Frederick de Klerk's Russian tour. Substantial progress was observed in the preparation of a whole

package of important interstate agreements, including those on trade and economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation.

The sides also agreed that consultations between the respective foreign ministries should be held on a regular and comprehensive basis. The consultations between the two countries today were aimed at providing a new impetus for the cooperation and a firm backing for it, based on laws and treaties, Mr. Schoeman, South African deputy prime minister, said.

"The negotiations with my counterpart from Russia were frank and businesslike," he said, speaking here at a news conference. Asked by a local journalist to assess prospects of relations between Moscow and Pretoria, Mr. Kolokolov said: "Their development is important not only for Russia and the South African Republic, but for the whole of the southern African region. Our cooperation is a new positive factor in world politics."

On Tuesday [4 May], De Klerk, head of the South African state, will receive the special envoy of the Russian president in Cape Town, where his talks with Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha will also be held.

Yeltsin Statement on Latvian Rights Breaches Detailed

MK0405094093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 May 93 p 9

[Anastasiya Romashkevich report: "Yeltsin Statement Circulated in United Nations. The President Has Condemned Discrimination Against Russians in Latvia"]

[Text] **Relations between Russia and Latvia were sharply exacerbated last week over the question of the Russian-speaking population's rights. Another round of bilateral talks (see KOMMERSANT-DAILY of 27 April) was called off at Russia's initiative, and a statement by the Russian president was circulated on Friday [30 April] as an official General Assembly document where Boris Yeltsin accused Latvian authorities of "human rights violations" and a "desire to create the underpinnings for ethnic cleansing."**

The statement was directly occasioned by a 28 April decree by Latvia's Supreme Soviet on issuing temporary residence permits to persons whose stay in Latvia is connected with the temporary deployment of Russia's armed forces. In accordance with the document, these persons are given one year in which they are to leave the republic. According to Yeltsin, Latvian authorities have broken their pledges under the UN convention on cutting the number of stateless persons, thus denying to a considerable part of the republic's population the right to free choice of place of residence. The statement underscores that the United Nations cannot disregard the intention of Latvian authorities to revive the "concept of 'collective punishment' which has been repeatedly condemned in the 20th century." KOMMERSANT-DAILY has come to learn that the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is preparing a number of diplomatic moves aimed at making Latvia "bring its policy toward the Russian-speaking population into line with previously achieved understandings."

World Bank Ends Talks on Oil Industry Investment

PM0405153793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 May 93 p 2

["Own Information" report: "New Lease on Life for Old Wells"]

[Text] The World Bank has just completed talks with the Russian Government and three West Siberian oil extraction associations regarding an oil investment project. The cost of this project is $1 billion, over $500 million of which will be provided by the World Bank, while the rest will come from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and several export-credit organizations.

The project aims to help revive the oil industry in Russia and improve the climate for foreign investment in this sector. The bulk of the money will be used for the major overhaul of oilwells, which will thereby receive a new lease on life. Thanks to this, oil extraction will increase by 33,00 tonnes a day, that is 3 percent on a countrywide scale. At today's prices that will bring in an additional $1.5 billion per year for Russia.

May Day Activities

Further Reportage on May Day Demonstrations

Opposition Forces End Picketing

LD0305170493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1654 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 3 TASS—Seven thousand supporters of Russia's allied opposition gathered in front of the Russian Parliament building today in conclusion of another day of picketing. Labour Russia leader Viktor Anpilov told the rally that his followers planned to picket the parliament building until the parliament met in session.

According to Anpilov, preparations for the manifestation scheduled for 9th May will begin in front of the parliament building and the marchers will then walk through the city centre, "no matter what", ITAR-TASS was told by sources close to Anpilov.

Leaders of the National Salvation Front, who took part in the stormy debate about the May first clashes and the situation after bloodshed, blamed the outrage on the "opposing political camp".

Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Statement

LD0405111093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] The Russian President's press service has just issued a joint statement by Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin. Our colleague Aleksey Abakumov reports:

[Begin Abakumov recording] The events which took place on 1 May at Kaluga Square in Moscow give rise to serious concern and alarm. Blood was shed in the capital. We express profound sympathy and condolences to all those who were hurt in the clashes. We declare that the events in the capital have caused sorrow throughout the country. We share your concern and indignation and will do everything we can to prevent a repetition of such provocations. Those who instigated, organized and carried out the provocations will be exposed and punished in accordance with the laws of Russia.

This was an overt attempt by an extremist Communist minority to push Russian society off the peaceful road of reform and to foist methods of political violence on the country. Behind the actions of the extremist parties and groupings one can see a wish to cancel out, by means of violence, the results of the nationwide referendum, which resulted in a yes vote for the reforms and social peace. The May Day events show that forces exist in society which do not want to operate in a legal, democratic way and are incapable of doing so, preferring instead rabble-rousing methods and incitement to terror. A part of the communist minority in the society has actually made an attempt to compromise the people's will. Unfortunately, there are people, including some in the body of deputies, who are trying to justify the use of force in the political struggle. We are declaring our firm and adamant intention to maintain social peace in the country. The extremists' hooligan outbursts will be opposed by decisive actions by the authorities. The actions of the law and order bodies, defending democracy and peaceful work of citizens, are fully supported by the President and the head of the government. We are warning that any attempts to drag the population into provocations and violent actions will be most resolutely rebuffed. The citizens of Russia will be shielded from dangerous actions of political provocateurs. The lawful will of the people, expressed at the referendum, will be defended and put into practice. Russian President Boris Yeltsin Chairman of Council of Ministers Viktor Chernomyrdin Moscow, Kremlin, 4 May, 1993 [end recording]

Kozyrev Calls For Trial

LD0405133793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1240 GMT 4 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksander Smelyakov]

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—"The group that provoked clashes on May Day in Moscow must be put on trial", Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told reporters on Tuesday [4 May] following negotiations with his Portuguese counterpart Jose Manuel Durao Barroso.

"The red-browns showed again that they cannot be regarded as a legal, normal opposition. These parties, actually, put themselves outside law", Kozyrev said. "Society should realise that the Russian White House plays the role of the headquarters of forces that are ready to plunge Russia into a state of violence and revert to the situation when Russia was outside the world democratic society, as it had been over 70 years".

Medical Authorities' Statement

LD0305170093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1355 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] We have just received via ITAR-TASS a statement by the Main Medical Directorate of Moscow.

The grave condition of 25-year-old Vladimir Tolokneyev, a member of the Special Purpose Militia Detachment who is in intensive care in a Moscow hospital, is due primarily to severe injuries to the skull and brain, a fracture to the cranium and base of the skull, a contusion to and crushing of the substantia medullaris, subdura mater hemorrhaging, and increasing edema.

This is contained in a statement from the Main Medical Directorate of Moscow, signed by its head, Anatoliy Solovyev. Tolokneyev has had surgery, and cranial trepination has been carried out. The city's top specialists

are involved in his treatment; however, Tolokneyev remains in danger. The Main Medical Directorate and the Moscow authorities are taking exhaustive measures to ensure that the patient has everything he needs, the statement says.

The statement also says that, beginning early in the morning on 1 May, eight medical teams, a mobile outpatient center, and a mobile unit from the emergency casualty center were on duty to cover all meeting points announced by demonstration organizers. According to figures given in the statement, 579 people were hurt in the fighting and requested medical attention between the hours of 1230 and 1430, including 251 members of Interior Ministry authorities.

From Gagarin Square, during 1-2 May [words indistinct] 495 persons requested attention. Another 84 were given medical aid at the site of the incident. The great majority of injured had sustained injuries from various blows. Several people suffered from a worsening of chronic illness, epilepsy, and angina pectoris during the demonstration.

Forty persons were admitted to the hospital, of whom 27 were policemen. The remainder were treated and allowed to go home for outpatient care, either at their place of residence or work.

The Main Medical Directorate reports that, with the exception of Tolokneyev, there are no other casualties in intensive care in the city's hospitals following the fighting. No fatalities have been recorded.

The statement says that nothing like this has happened in Moscow during the past 25 years. Even the events of 19-21 August 1991 caused much fewer casualties. Because unlawful actions by organizers and participants of demonstrations and street rallies are increasingly leading to bloodshed and exacerbating an already strained medical situation in Moscow, the Main Medical Directorate calls on political and public organizations to halt mass gatherings, to display benevolence and restraint, and to direct their efforts toward parliamentary and bloodless methods, without causing a threat to the lives and health of the people of Moscow.

That was a statement by the Main Medical Directorate of Moscow in connection with the events of 1 May in our capital.

Investigation Under Way

LD0305184693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian General Procuracy is investigating the causes of the 1 May disturbances in Moscow. According to Aleksandr Zvyagintsev, chief of the information and public relations center, being guilty of organizing mass disturbances entails criminal responsibility with imprisonment terms ranging from two to 15 years. Yevgeniy Lisov, deputy procurator general of Russia, has said that a group led by (Georgiy Chuglazov), a senior investigator in charge of cases of special importance, also includes Russian internal affairs and security staff with considerable work experience.

The identity of several score individuals directly involved in the developments has already been established. The investigators are working hard to find out if other people were involved in the disturbances.

Provocations To Be 'Ruthlessly Suppressed'

MK0405143693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 13, 4 May 93 p 1 (signed to press 3 May)

[Comments by Gennadiy Voronin, chief of Special Purpose Militia Detachment, OMON, special subdivision, recorded by Tatyana Malkina and Dmitriy Volkov, published in "Direct Speech" rubric: "National-Communists Declare War on the State"]

[Text] The demonstrators on Leninskiy Prospect on 1 May were, incidentally, quite prepared. I know for sure that Stanislav Terekhov prior to the rally had specially convened his Officers Union.

These are cool professionals. They had walkie-talkies, and they knew our positioning perfectly. When they began the march, in violation of the established itinerary, we warned them several times. Anpilov stated in response: "We are also warning you." When we tried to move our detachments to block their path along Leninskiy Prospect, instructions were issued from the column over the walkie-talkies to lie down under our trucks parked under Krymskiy Bridge (incidentally, these orders were for the most part carried out by old men and women—how could we possibly fight them?) Therefore the OMON arrived late to the cordon in Gagarin Square. In the first line there were only divisional inspectors—anyone who happened to be available—so-called "district forces." They have never confronted a crowd. Common militiamen, they could not even defend each other; they were totally shocked.

I do not know why the leaders of the Moscow militia did not think it necessary, for instance, to send water cannons to Gagarin Square, which were in our garage. The fire engines that arrived were putting out fires in burning trucks rather than dispersing the rabble. The militia was taken unaware. Either through a miscalculation on the part of the leadership, or perhaps there was some other reason....

By the way, how did the "peaceful demonstrators" come by No. 203 ball bearings? They fit precisely into the palm.... And they brought along their stones in bags. We were issued instructions to restrain them.

Incidentally, I am personally acquainted with Anpilov. We have come to agreement thousands of times at various rallies about how to avoid clashes.... Here, however, something incomprehensible happened, as though

a third force had intervened and caused us to collide. No, it is not Terekhov. Terekhov is also just a pawn. I saw him run off somewhere for advice, and then back to instruct his team. Therefore, my personal opinion is that Anpilov and Terekhov are not the key figures.

Incidentally, the organizers themselves are always behind, pushing a handful of blockheads in front. There is documentary video footage: Neither Anpilov, nor Konstantinov, nor any others among the crowd were thrown onto our shields and truncheons.

Don't, don't drag us into politics! We are normal, simple people. Our life is just as hard anybody else's, and our thoughts about life are basically the same. We could not care less if some people cannot come to terms in the Supreme Soviet. Just look at what is going on in the city, how many weapons there are, how many gangsters.... This is what we should be dealing with.

Previously, most of us were compassionate toward people of that kind. Yesterday, like always in recent times, we adopted a wait-and-see position. And today two of our men are in critical condition, 187 of our personnel have applied for emergency medical aid, and 20 people are in the hospital. We have filmed five video cassettes. They show tear gas spray canisters being used on three occasions—the third time, by the way, against our boy, whose head had already been crushed by a bus. At present he is in the most serious condition, and he has two kids; in his time he pulled through in Afghanistan.... The second boy, who is now dying, was hit on the head with a spike, splitting his skull and damaging his eye. Our personnel are complaining that they are receiving threatening phone calls at home. One of our men yesterday had to be moved to another apartment because a group of gangsters attacked his family. Nonetheless, up until now defense has been our sole tactic.

They assaulted those who could have easily smashed them. Simply, nobody expected that. As for the innuendoes about 9 May, I think they are trying to frighten us. It is not clear why: They are military people and they know who can do what. Surely we are not going to shoot at civilians.... Although generally speaking, today we are in a very tough frame of mind. Any provocations will be ruthlessly suppressed. We are ready to carry out any order. As for special riot control gear and our readiness to defend ourselves, as of today we will have everything. We will be in full combat readiness. People who prepare such provocations simply do not know what they are letting themselves in for; they do not know the kind of training we have received.

Although I am an OMON officer, I also have my own point of view, even a political position. I for one did not vote in the referendum. You know, I believed some of these people, and I sympathized with them. Not now. Now I am fully on the side of presidential authority, and I will fight for order to the end. It is wrong to be associated with people who are capable of such barbarity at the end of the 20th century. [end Voronin]

Several hours after the confrontation on Gagarin Square, a colleague of Voronin, Vitaliy Kiyko told AFP that he and his people were "betrayed" by the authorities. "They turned us into cannon fodder, forbidding us from defending ourselves with special riot control gear" he said. According to Kiyko, 25-year old OMON officer Vladimir Tolokneyev is in the hospital in critical condition after undergoing brain surgery. "If our colleague dies, they will pay dearly for it" he added.

OMON Major Describes Disturbance

LD0305215093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] There is no doubt that the holidays were spoiled for everyone by the provocation carried out on 1 May in Moscow by the Working Moscow Movement and the National Salvation Front. Blood was spilled, people were hurt, but the so-called saviors of the fatherland are putting all the blame on the Russian and Moscow authorities and the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] leadership without the slighest shame, resorting to blatant lies. Our correspondent Anton Grishin asked OMON Major Vitaliy Kiyko to describe the 1 May events in the capital.

[Begin Kiyko recording] The Krimskiy bridge was barred by the militia, Yakimanka was barred, there were cars in a row, and militia officials stood in a row along the line. These were divisional inspectors, detectives, investigators, that is, people who unluckily or possibly luckily, I do not know how to call it, are not trained to work in such situations. Some of them were in greatcoats, some in coats, in flimsy shoes, you know. Yes, some of them did indeed carry shields and wear helmets, but, begging your pardon, there was no trace of OMON there.

An interesting nuance: There was no rally, as usually happens, there was no ferment, no fraternizing. Just several minutes passed, and they formed up and swung around. And those people who called for marching forward were not themselves in the forefront. I did not see Zyuganov in the forefront, nor Anpilov, nor Konstantinov, although there are rumors circulating now that they were pressing forward in the first rows. Yes, Terekhov was in the first rows, that's true. There were two ZIL cars moving in the middle with bells, that is, with loudspeakers, through which it was clearly commanded over the whole of Leninskiy Prospekt: Women and old men move to the rear of the column, men and young people to the front. There were no barricades there; thank heaven they at least did not say that there were tanks there. There were several cars. Having overrun this row, they did, indeed take away the shields and truncheons from many of the officials, and they did this in a mean way, that is two or three persons would rush forward and snatch the helmet, two or three would rush forward and pull the shield away, and then the rest would beat the man up. And when they had already climbed over those cars, they were then met here by our boys. [end recording]

[Announcer] I have already said that the parties of communist and national-socialist orientation are trying for all they are worth to place the blame for the incident on the Moscow authorities and the militia. Unfortunately, the Moscow Soviet deputies supported them in this.

[Begin Kiyko recording] They have forgotten how meanly these scoundrels acted, and I stress that one of those has been detained who used cars to ram the lines, and it was one of these cars that crushed our soldiers. And after that, when our boys tried to drive the car off, they raised the hood and tore out the wiring. The soldiers, having already climbed on the car, pushed it away with their feet, when I together with the boys pulled our boy out. Bearings were thrown at us, bricks were thrown at us and pieces of decorative marble from the underpass; they poked at us with flagstaffs as with pikes, and beat the boy that I pulled out with sticks. It is horrible to speak of it, but pieces of lung tissue flew out of his mouth together with the blood. They were prepared for exactly that action. People must be told the truth at last. What children, what little stones! Let them come and have a look—there is asphalt all around. Of course all this was prepared. [end recording]

PRAVDA Reports 'Bloody Carnage'

PM0405084193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 93 p 1

[Boris Slavin report: "Now the Russian Federation President Has His Own Chicago. Repetition of the Tragedy of 107 Years Ago"]

[Text] PRAVDA had already written that the failed presidential coup of 20 March would be followed by other similar attempts which would be much better prepared, including the use of provocations and bloodshed. This is exactly what happened 1 May.

Since the referendum results failed to give the president the right to take direct anticonstitutional actions, the executive power decided to usurp this right. Having banned the demonstration participants from entering Red Square, the executive power—taking advantage of the fact that the demonstrators did not go to the assigned location but started moving in the direction of Moscow State University—blocked off Leninskiy Prospekt by chains of OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] forces and organized a bloody carnage [poboishche] of peaceful and totally innocent people. This was a repetition of the May Day events in the U.S. city of Chicago 107 years ago. Those events marked the beginning of celebrations of the holiday of working people's international solidarity.

But what were the aims pursued by the authorities through this provocation? First, in my view, they wanted to issue a warning to all who voted against the president at the referendum. Second, they strove to prove to U.S. President Clinton that the Russian president is fully in control of the situation in the country, including the capital. Third, having accused the demonstrators of extremism beforehand, they prepared the ground for banning the activity of the communist party and other left-wing and patriotic organizations. Finally, all this was needed in order to create the necessary prerequisites for introducing emergency presidential rule, disbanding the representative and judicial powers, and establishing a tough bourgeois dictatorship.

But Boris Yeltsin and his entourage miscalculated yet again: The executors of their orders performed too crudely. It was stupid to organize this provocation over the holiday. The bulk of the victims were not the imaginary thugs of whom official television is constantly talking, but ordinary and totally innocent people—veterans, women, children. It is totally impossible to suspect them of any malice aforethought.

The actions by the militia and OMON were very obviously planned in advance. I saw with my own eyes stones being thrown at the festive column of marchers from behind the lines of the guardians of order, thus provoking a response by the demonstrators. I saw militiamen leading the crowd, supposedly to guide them through the OMON lines, suddenly deploying to block off the street and thus leaving people exposed to blows from OMON nightsticks.

Nobody understood why all this was done! I heard rank and file OMON members saying that they had been set up. Dissatisfaction was also expressed by some senior militia officers, feeling that nothing terrible would happen if people had been allowed to reach the Moscow State University.

But evidently this course of events would have been unsuitable for the "boss" [khozyain] and his entourage. Consequently the blood of hundreds of people was shed and this will never be erased from the people's memory either by television or by official propaganda. I heard people saying that Moscow Mayor Luzhkov was one of the culprits of the bloodshed and someone dubbing him "Bloody Yuriy." I think that May Day would have made many people perceive the real nature of our new "democratic power." Sooner or later it will be held accountable for all this.

'Working Russia' Leader Interviewed

PM0405094393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 93 p 2

[Feliks Belelyubskiy interview with V.M. Yakushev, "one of the leaders of 'Working Russia'"; place and date not given: "We Fell Into a Trap"]

[Text] [Belelyubskiy] Vladimir Makarovich, what role did you play in the 1 May events?

[Yakushev] I was de facto chief of staff for the entire event. A responsible figure legally, as well as morally.

[Belelyubskiy] How was it decided to move the column of marchers along Lenin Prospekt in the direction of Moscow State University?

[Yakushev] We had people assemble in October (Kaluga) Square. The rally was surrounded on three sides by militia barriers. We held a swift consultation and decided to take the only road that was open to us—Leninskiy Prospekt.

[Belelyubskiy] But Luzhkov claims that platforms and public address systems had been installed for your rally at the Gorkiy Park of Culture.

[Yakushev] We found this out from a television program after the clash. We had received no such proposals before the holiday. On the contrary, the way to the Park of Culture was cordoned off. This was seen by thousands of people.

We did not want to break through. Our aim was to free the city center for normal traffic, normalize the situation, avoid any clashes, and get closer to nature.

[Belelyubskiy] So why did you lead people in the actual direction of the cordon?

[Yakushev] But there was no cordon there! The barricade of trucks was built literally before our very eyes. We even tried to speed up the convoy's movement so as to pass by. Now it is already known that vehicles carrying people and militia cavalry were moving at high speed along Shabolovka Street, chasing the demonstration.

[Belelyubskiy] Where were you when the clash took place?

[Yakushev] On the truck with the public address system.

[Belelyubskiy] What struck you as the most important aspect?

[Yakushev] As soon as the column came up against the militia, we used the loudspeakers to halt the demonstration. The first few television reports clearly showed an open space between the crowd and the militia. Later on these shots were not repeated on television.

Young people started climbing on the trucks without waiting for the column's leaders to open talks with the militia. We had actually started putting together a delegation for this purpose, but ran out of time.

The OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] personnel (meaning militiamen with privates' shoulderboards) were actually after disorder, not order. Protected by helmets and shields, groups of these heroes repeatedly ran into the crowd to a depth of 200 meters, beating up everyone who stood in their way. Then they ran back to cover behind the vehicles. In response they received nothing but a hail of stones.

[Belelyubskiy] So who should be held responsible?

[Yakushev] We committed an administrative misdemeanor, having failed to give official notification of our plan to move in the direction of Moscow State University. We did not cause any damage to city property, because Leninskiy Prospekt had been closed off to traffic. Had the militia not blocked our way on the mayor's orders, there would have been no clash at all. Therefore, it is possible to talk of criminal liability attaching to those who issued this order.

Clashes May Aggravate Power Crisis

MK0405091293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 May 93 p 2

[Larisa Yevtushik commentary published in "Authorities After the Referendum" rubric: "Extraordinary Parliament Session May Not Be Held"]

[Text] Some observers view 1 May's clash on Gagarin Square as an attempt by the opposition to divert the populace's attention from the discussions about the new draft constitution to the "bloody" and "anti-popular" nature of the authorities' actions in breaking up a "peaceful May Day demonstration." This attempt has partially succeeded, with one implication being the reaction of the parliament leadership to the moves of the law enforcement bodies. In particular the Supreme Soviet's press service, before the investigation even began, stated that the executive branch of government is to blame for what happened.

At press conferences, statements, and interviews that followed the 1 May events, presidential press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov, members of the presidential administration, and Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov suggested that these events are an attempt by the opposition, which suffered a defeat in the referendum, to seek revenge.

Importantly, in contrast to similar clashes between opposition and law enforcement forces last year (23 February and 22 June), the parliament also got entangled in the conflict. Moreover, not only through individual members taking part in organizing the march, but also officially.

Thus the Supreme Soviet press service's statement places the blame for the clashes squarely on the law enforcement bodies which themselves "provoked the riots and used violent force to disperse the demonstrators."

Therefore the conclusions of a commission to investigate the May Day clashes set up on instructions from Ruslan Khasbulatov, including mainly opposition deputies, will most likely not particularly differ from the statements made by these parliamentarians—leaders of the Russian Unity bloc.

Despite the fact that they have come out with a demand to convene an emergency Supreme Soviet session and an extraordinary congress to discuss the clashes, however, the Supreme Soviet leadership has so far not supported

this initiative, and parliament joint sessions will most probably begin according to schedule, that is tomorrow. But in all likelihood, the question about the May Day clashes will be raised in the course of the joint sessions. Apparently, the parliamentary discussion of these events will finally shape public opinion as to who was right on Gagarin Square and who must bear responsibility for the bloodshed.

Presumably, the absence of a sharp personal reaction from the speaker and his entourage is due to a sober assessment of the situation: Any "emergency" decisions by parliament may give the president sufficient moral justification to toughen his actions with regard to the representative branch.

The president's supporters, who advocate the idea of an emergency congress, must be well aware of this. Vyacheslav Volkov, deputy head of the president's administration, said that if the Supreme Soviet succeeds in calling an emergency congress, the president will submit to it an edict "on banning all organizations that were the main organizers of the provocation." And since the congress will hardly approve these decisions, the situation is bound to deteriorate.

Moscow Prosecutor: Riots Planned

MK0405101693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 13, 4 May 93 p 1

[Report by Tatyana Malkina, Dmitriy Volkov in "Law and Order" column: "MVD Leadership: 'The Militia's Patience Is Not Limitless.' According to Moscow Prosecutor, Riots Were Not Spontaneous"]

[Text] Andrey Dunayev, Russia's first deputy internal affairs minister, commenting on the events on Leninskiy Prospect on 1 May, said that the demonstrators deliberately stormed the militia cordon. "If this goes on, we shall act like the police of any foreign country: establish a maximum distance of 50 to 100 meters between the cordon and the demonstrators. If the borderline is transgressed, we shall use gas, water cannons, and rubber bullets."

Dunayev said that the militia, headed by Vladimir Pankratov, did not expect the demonstrators to assault the cordon on Leninskiy Prospect. "Apparently well-trained people began the storming boldly and decisively. If the organizers think that the patience of the militia and bodies of the Internal Affairs Ministry is boundless, they are grossly mistaken," he stated.

Dunayev maintains that the militia was instructed to pursue defensive and "extremely humane" actions. "And so we are reaping the fruit of this," he said. "Over 200 casualties among our personnel! Nonetheless, there is a limit to the inner patience of the militiamen."

Dunayev refused to give a full assessment of the demonstrators' actions, although according to him, "people were marching deliberately, in order to shed blood; this is evident from the violence of the demonstrators' assault."

Referring to a statement by Viktor Anpilov, leader of Working Moscow, that the opposition is planning a rally for 9 May where "bullets will be flying," Dunayev said: "Anything can be expected from Anpilov. We already know that this man knows no bounds."

The Russian Ministry of Security [RMS] stated that it had no comment to make on what had happened. RMS spokesman Sergey Bogdanov said that the ministry had had no information about riots being prepared. According to Bogdanov, the security service had no right to conduct a preliminary investigation, since the law forbids political surveillance. "Had we conducted covert operations within political parties and movements, we could have prevented this," he explained. An RMS official, who refused to identify himself, asserted that the clash was spontaneous, and that while all of the weaponry, with the exception of flagpoles and planks, had been torn off trucks, "the demonstrators picked up some implements on a construction site in Neskuchniy Sad on their way to Gagarin Square." As for walkie-talkies, he said they "are available in any shop."

Moscow Prosecutor Gennadiy Ponomarev said that on the day of the clash the Moscow Prosecutor's Office initiated a criminal case under Article 79 (mass riots). The case was opened following an "instance of crime." On the following day the Moscow Prosecutor's Office transferred the case to the Russian Prosecutor's Office. Moscow officers will be part of the investigating team as assistants.

"I think that there are definite culprits in this case, and they can and must be identified," Ponomarev said. "The 1 May events, although they formally rank in a category of similar ones (the riots on 22 June 1992 and 23 February 1993), sharply differ in their implications and scenario, which was not so spontaneous after all."

Ponomarev described the violation of the demonstration itinerary established by the Moscow mayor's order as a deliberate step by the rally organizers who called on the demonstrators to march on Sparrow Hills, instead of the square reserved for them in front of the Central Exhibition Hall on Krymskiy Val. "The militia only tried to carry out the order," he said.

The Russian General Prosecutor's Office announced that on 2 May Valentin Stepankov went on a business trip abroad. According to his deputy, Yevgeniy Lisov, the case of the riot has been placed in the charge of an investigating team led by Georgiy Chuglazov. The team has begun the investigation.

Demonstrators 'Ordinary Citizens'

PM0405114193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 May 93 p 1

[Aleksey Vorobyev "Commentary": "'Heresy' Beaten Out of Disaffected 'Minority' With Sticks"]

[Text] Let us leave it for the investigation to decide whether provocations occurred and who perpetrated them and to ascertain who was responsible and prosecute them. Let us leave on the radicals' conscience the groundless accusations against parliament—this has become commonplace in their policy. Let us avoid another fit of political emotion and try to understand the people, ordinary Russian citizens, who grappled so desperately with OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment] officers.

They were carrying red flags. For that reason some people are calling them Red-Browns and are trying to frighten people by talking about the prospect of communist revenge. I am not sure, though, that the 7,000 demonstrators were capable of carrying out that revenge.

Revenge? What kind of revenge, for heaven's sake! The defeat of the pseudodemocrats, who have undertaken reforms in the country that have badly undermined the living standards of the majority of people? A breeding ground has been created for bitter social conflicts and the first seeds to germinate are, as ever, those of Marxism.

"They" learned a long time ago how to defuse social tension. To that end they spare neither resources nor intellectual effort. But the radicals who came in on the "Democratic Russia" wave either do not know how to do that or they underestimated the consequences of the "belt-tightening," relying on the Russian people's eternal patience.

The economic situation is steadily deteriorating, and more and more strata of the population are being dragged into the quagmire of social conflicts. The authors of the unsuccessful reforms, confusing cause and effect, are kicking up a fuss about hidden wreckers from the former party nomenklatura.

At first the opposition leaders merely demanded that people sit down at the negotiating table with them, listen to them, give them airtime on radio and television, and enable them to argue with the fashionable politicians on an equal footing.

If only the authorities had had the courage! They should have been in constant contact with the opposition, seeking an accord, bringing closer together, millimeter by millimeter, their views on the position of the hapless people, adjusting the course of the reforms daily, and relieving the social tension.

On the eve of the referendum the president's entourage set the task of politicizing society as much as possible, so that people would be caught up in the battle and would at least go and vote. The massive avalanche of one-sided propaganda did not just politicize society, it split it. Many people disaffected with the president's line felt that their civil rights were being attacked and there was no one to defend their interests. A social explosion was becoming increasingly imminent.

It was the free interpretation of the referendum results that finally detonated it.

A total of 7,000 Muscovites went to Gagarin Square to demonstrate. "A handful of renegades and provocateurs!" people would exclaim, entirely in the tradition of past times. And they were wrong. They were ordinary citizens of our country, just like anyone else.

How obstinately the leaders of the Interregional Group supported at the first union congresses the principle that democracy is first and foremost the protection of minority rights! Why did many of them, including the president, forget this principle so quickly?

No, it was not OMON fighting the people on Gagarin Square, it was not the supporters of the reforms fighting communists. It was a fierce conflict between power structures infected with the bacilli of pseudodemocracy and autocracy and humiliated and abused citizens.

Let us hope to God that the doctors manage to save the OMON guy who was very seriously injured in the savage and senseless fight. Let us hope to God that no one has to pay such a terrible price for another lesson in communication between the people and the authorities. The state leaders must quickly digest it and not make loud noises and produce hasty decrees and edicts. They must finally realize that the disaffected "minority" comprises tens and tens of millions of Russians. So can people seriously expect to be able to beat the "heresy" out of them with sticks and even with bullets?

Organizers of Disturbances Derided

PM0405131793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Otto Latsis report: "Aggressive Minority Tries to Revise the Results of the People's Expression of Will"]

[Text] Until such a time as the results of the inquiry into the case of the 1 May tragedy on the capital's Leninskiy Prospect emerge, we will limit ourselves to an evaluation of what is generally known.

Red Square was not given over to any of the organizations which had laid claim to it for the holiday, but just one of the political forces refused to abide by the authorities' injunction.

The demonstration's organizers did not have permission to march along Leninskiy Prospekt, moreover the OMON [special purpose militia detachments] subunits were standing motionless, but the column of demonstrators set upon them—it is clear just who took the initiative in the clashes.

Persons safely concealed by the armor of parliamentary immunity are assuming the role of organizers of illegal events. Bravo, courageous deputies!

All this is taking place immediately after the all-Russian referendum, in the light of which the clashes' organizers know (if they did not know before) that they do not have the support of the majority of Russians, and as such they do not even have moral justification for their actions.

All this took place directly after the Supreme Soviet and the speaker himself set an example of how, in their view, to react to the will of the majority of Russians, expressed in a democratic and lawful way at the referendum: The opposition proposes that this expression of will be ignored.

Given that, in this case, it is the minority which intends to ignore the will of the majority, the very logic of the situation dictates the only selection of methods of action possible for the minority: demagogy, dissension, and violence.

That same logic of the situation dictates the majority's response: calm, resolve, and steadfastness in observing the law, and unswerving progression forward along the path of democratic reforms.

Political Issues

Democratic Union Calls For Direct Presidential Rule

LD0405081093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] In Moscow, the central coordinating council of the Russian Democratic Union has expressed sympathy with the police and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] casualties from the 1 May clashes with demonstrators, whom the council in its statement calls communist fanatics.

The statement voices the hope that next time the democratic authorities will be able to uphold peace and calm and will not allow the streets of Moscow and other cities to be taken over by a mob capable of reversing the progress of democratic reform.

The Russian Democratic Union's central coordinating council believes that in order to avert a civil war all soviets must be disbanded and direct presidential rule must be introduced until a new constitution can be adopted, ANI reports.

Yeltsin as Head of Crime, Corruption Commission Viewed

PM0405104193 Moscow in Russian IZVESTIYA 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 8

[Report by Valeriy Rudnev: "Everyone to the Struggle Against Crime. Even the President..."]

[Text] Yesterday's report from the news agencies was succinct—Boris Yeltsin has taken charge of the interdepartmental commission of the Russian Federation Security Council for combating crime and corruption.

The first thing that is obvious is the obviously political hidden agenda to the decision. Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy has paid for his apostacy and over the course of two days was dismissed from his duties leading agriculture and combating crime. And one more piece of evidence that a political card is being played here is that at the same time as the president's edict "On Organizational Measures To Step Up the Struggle Against Crime" parliament adopted a decision on the formation of a special commission of the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office for the investigation of materials connected with the corruption of officials. The post of first deputy general prosecutor and leader of the special commission is being introduced. Vice President A. Rutskoy took part in the discussion of this question in parliament.

The official doctrine of "socialist legality" proclaimed that crime can be conquered only by leaning on it all together. That slogan remained unshakable for decades. As did crime itself. And we responded to the increase in law violations by "the greater mobilization" of the public," the "better coordination" of the work of the law enforcement organs, and the higher ranks of the officials who regularly took charge of the campaign against crime.

It seemed that the time of slogans had passed. The people themselves were the first to withdraw from the "nationwide struggle." After the state refused to grant additional leave and other material benefits, the enthusiasm of the people's militia gradually dried up: People did not want to fight crime unpaid, in their free time. The workers' detachments which took over from the people's militia did not last long either: It proved expensive to divert specialists from production onto the streets.

The court also refused to follow the previous course of "socialist legality" and to reflect in its sentences the operational interests of its former colleagues in the law enforcement organs—the militia, KGB, and prosecutor's office. Finally, the prosecutor's office put the question point-blank: Organs specially intended for the purpose should combat crime. And the prosecutors merely supervise legality in that struggle.

It is true that the professional approach in the struggle against crime did not last long. The Russian prosecutor's office under the leadership of V. Stepankov again stated its claims to the role of "coordinator of the work of all law enforcement organs." New interdepartmental commissions of the old type are being formed. Their level in the state hierarchy is rising—they have already reached the Russian Federation Security Council! Finally, the vice president is replaced by the president himself, who has personally taken charge of the struggle against crime.

It remained to involve the court and the people in this matter once again. Boris Yeltsin probably has sufficient

authority for this. But later, having all weighed in together (according to the rules of "socialist legality"), they will again advance into a "nationwide campaign."

Locally—in the militia departments and rayon administrations—there is still a lack of agents and criminal investigation equipment and the dispatch of "emergency" vehicles is disrupted because of the lack of gasoline and investigators are really swamped with criminal cases. They lack the time and the means to combat crime.

Meanwhile crime, like a child with seven nurses, has been left to the tyranny of fate. The total number of registered crimes is again at a record level. Over the past year there were 2.76 million, which is 30 percent more than in 1991. Add to that the thousands of concealed, unregistered crimes.

Only half of the crimes committed are resolved. The other half of the cases for which culprits have nonetheless been established also does not always get to court. To avoid wasting time on procedural issues, many people (in 1972 the figure was 140,117 people) are relieved of criminal responsibility and the materials are handed over for public examination.

Criminologists are sounding the alarm: The basic principle of the struggle against crime—the inevitability of punishment—is being forgotten.

What is there instead—everyone to the struggle against crime?

Yeltsin Aide on New Constitution's Merits

PM0405092593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Sergey Alekseyev, member of the Presidential Council and corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences: "This Will Be A Constitution of Revival"]

[Text] Two main features distinguish the new draft—first, it will be a constitution for the revival and unification of Russia and Russia's peoples; second, it also marks the end of the totalitarian regime.

The preparations for this document took on board all the valuable aspects of previous elaborations, including elaborations from the official draft which was approved in the main by Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies. As a professional I want to thank its authors, because they were the first to make a democratic input to constitutional development. Another source was the draft constitution produced by Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, the great Russian citizen and citizen of the world. His ideas centered on human rights, freedom, and protection of the individual. At the same time, the new draft is not a collection of fragments. On the contrary, it contains a range of unified ideas and a common core binding all the constructive provisions together. There are five of these—people, strong and stable power, economic freedom based on the law, justice, and a real federation.

What is the nature of each of these elements?

People

In preparing the new draft the compilers were striving to ensure that it applied to every citizen and became a constitution for each Russian citizen. That is why human rights and freedoms have been highlighted. These are the right to life, to inviolability, freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, and freedom of ownership. And, most importantly, under the draft constitution each person enjoys the utmost protection which is, above all, just.

Firm and Stable Power

Our society has been wracked by the anarchy and disorder in the country. For the first time in Russia the draft lays down the idea of strict organization of power whereby each subunit does not interfere in its neighbors' affairs but sticks to its own job.

The head of state is responsible for the state's integrity and the work of the entire state apparatus; it is his duty to prevent all kinds of crises and to directly run the government and the Federal Assembly, which comprises two chambers—the State Duma and the Federation Council. It is the Federation Council that holds the key position in the Federal Assembly and passes the laws. The government deals with administration, and the courts deal with justice.

That is why the draft omits the idea of a constitutional principle [konstitutsionnoye nachalo], and pursues the idea of an independently responsible government which shapes its team and works freely, solving any problem through swift administration. That is why a unified administrative hierarchy is affirmed by agreement with the Federation Council.

At the same time, I would stress that the organization of stable power is based on the consistent democratic foundation of people's power. What does this mean? First, the source of power and the foremost characters in power are the people, who elect the president and the Federal Assembly, and decide fundamental issues for the country by means of referendums. Incidentally, until recently we had very often used the phrases "on behalf of the people" or "on the people's instructions." But at the recent referendum we actually asked the people their opinion for the first time in recent years, and the Russian people showed themselves to be wise. The draft constitution presupposes the impermissibility of concentrating power in any organ—neither the Federal Assembly, nor the President, nor anyone else should be all-powerful. Power should be divided, and each organ should do its own job. Local municipal administration is separate

from direct state power, enjoys internal sovereignty, and is entitled to resolve all local issues on the basis of the population's interests.

Economic Freedom Within the Law

In my view, Russia is still in a state of semifreedom. We should not create a semimarket economy; we need to create unified constitutional and legal foundations which will then become part of the Civil Code so as to ensure that people have a free hand in economic activity and that their actions are regulated solely by the law. These are the ideas laid down in Articles 21, 22, and 23. Article 63 lays down the free movement of finances and goods throughout Russian territory—that is, the foundations of economic activity are established on the basis of the Constitution, without which there will be no market and no enterprise.

The Supremacy of Justice

I am profoundly convinced that the democratic system will not prevail in Russia unless rule-of-law justice prevails. All disputes should be resolved not by officials but by the courts. And that is why the draft constitution preserves all three branches of the judiciary—the Constitutional Court, whose decisions are final, the Court of Arbitration, and the Supreme Court for general civil issues. And, in addition, there is the Supreme Bench, which unites the leaders of all three courts, who are able to resolve complex issues such as the interpretation of the constitution.

A Real Federation

The draft constitution contains the idea of a real, full-fledged, and profoundly meaningful federation. Section One is a declaration of general principles—human rights and justice. Section Two is the Federation Treaty, within which all issues should be resolved by common consent. I think that, with such a constitution defining the general mandatory principles, all Federation components will enjoy proper autonomy and complete freedom that nobody will have the right to restrict.

There is no doubt that the new constitution needs to be adopted on a truly democratic basis. All the more so as all the necessary prerequisites for this currently exist—the referendum has given new legitimacy to the president, and Boris Yeltsin is no longer the president of the RSFSR but the president of a new and democratic Russia. He can take the initiative. But the Federation components will have the final say.

Poltoranian Wants Khasbulatov, Rutskoy Out

PM0405115793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 May 93 p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Poltoranin, leader of the Federal Information Center, by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina "exclusively for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI"; place and date not given: "Mikhail Poltoranin: 'The Referendum Has Put An End to the Dyarchy in Russia.' Just As He Did After the Crushing of the 1991 August Coup, Mikhail Poltoranin Offers Victory Congratulations to Those Who Think as He Does About the Referendum Results"]

[Text] At the same time the leader of the federal information department would not have been himself it he had not irascibly "congratulated" Boris Yeltsin's opponents on their "moral and political defeat." It was in this key that the ITAR-TASS correspondent's interview with the head of the Federal Information Center proceeded.

[Zamyatina] Mikhail Nikiforovich, abstracting ourselves from the emotional elan, shall we try to sum up the political results of the referendum?

[Poltoranin] With pleasure. The first lesson of the poll, as I see it, is that it is a reflection of the psychological restructuring of the people, of their growing maturity. Morally the nation has lifted itself significantly higher even in comparison with August 1991. The people have shaken the communist gibberish from their heads and are gearing themselves toward a civilized way of life henceforth.

The president received from Russians full carte blanche for decisive actions to implement reforms.

The dispute about what type of state structure is preferable for Russia has also been left behind, I believe. Its citizens supported Yeltsin's idea of a presidential republic proposed in the president's version of the Constitution, the theses of which appeared in the press the day before the poll, and the full text of which was published 30 April. We are convinced: People want a strong, firm state, without political free-for-alls.

The destructive policy of the deputies' corps suffered a complete and obvious defeat. Let us recall: The Congress assessed the president's socioeconomic course as unsatisfactory, but the people gave a firm "yes" to this course. I believe that after this fiasco the Congress of People's Deputies has no other way out than to dissolve itself, because the right to have the final say belongs to the people, and not to the Congress.

Those who supported the deputies in their attacks on the president and his course should also, I am convinced, take the same road of resignation. I have in mind above all the speaker of parliament, who incited the deputies' corps to oppose Yeltsin. He literally scoffed at the president's course of reforms. But today, when Khasbulatov states that the referendum split Russia, he insults not just the president, but this time the entire Russian people as well, who have made their conscious choice. Therefore, the first person who should resign is Khasbulatov, who is continuing his destructive work. We have had enough of Khasbulatov shaking Russia like a pear tree.

Along with Khasbulatov Vice President Rutskoy should also resign his post. Before the referendum he really

"rammed" the president in the back, planning to overthrow him. He achieved nothing, only once again testifying to his lack of decency.

However, what can you say about decency here. Before the referendum, I caught Rutskoy near my dacha in Arkhangelskoye in a boat on the River Desna, hauling in his fishing net. Seeing me, he made out that he was simply rinsing his hands. Then I shouted to him from the bank: "Rutskoy, so it is not only in politics that you poach?" He even started to cough he was so scared. It is both funny and sad!

In the upshot the people tore the masks from the politicians and exposed their true faces better than all analysts. All these "centrists" in the guise of Civic Union, Travkin's party, and also in the guise of the blatantly communist opposition—they all pontificate in the name of the people. But in the upshot, it was revealed in the course of the poll that in essence they are antipeople: They are against the president's reforms, and the people are for them. And, on the contrary, participants in the democratic movement and the independent press showed their truly popular character: Even before the referendum they campaigned for what Russians supported.

[Zamyatina] Many, I think, will be alarmed not so much by the vigor of your speech, as by your words about the need for "decisive actions" on the president's part. In what sense do you intend them?

[Poltoranin] Above all the president should require from the deputies' corps that it back the course of reforms which the people have supported, with a legislative basis. In these conditions the Supreme Soviet should postpone all secondary activity and swiftly elaborate a code of laws to further reforms. Otherwise the president will be obliged to carry out transformations in the economy with the aid of the Council of the Federation and his own edicts.

It is quite possible that Boris Yeltsin will make modifications to the composition of the government: There are still people in it who do not accept democratic transformations.

Undoubtedly, we require a program of anti-inflationary measures in the near future. It is necessary to review all executive structures on the subject of their conformity to transition to the market. It will also be necessary to launch a mechanism for enterprise bankruptcies, at the same time retraining the potential unemployed by drawing them into employment in the service sphere and in construction industry enterprises. We will alleviate the tax burden on priority sections of production.

The most important thing is that the president intends to create conditions for normal creative work throughout the country.

[Zamyatina] Presumably thousands of Russians awaited the results of the referendum in the hope of a solution to the long-running dispute over land ownership.

[Poltoranin] The question of land must be solved as a matter of priority. Serious talk about this should begin at the very next session of government: People who wish to possess land must receive it by as early as this spring. Moreover, there is the question of derelict lands—some 20 million hectares that have been overgrown with forest growth since the time of the dekulakization. In addition, a number of sovkhozes and kolkhozes are facing bankruptcy: Their lands too should not be abandoned—and the same goes for the millions of hectares occupied by military facilities. Once the Army is reduced, it will not need such gigantic areas.

[Zamyatina] You touched on the problem of inflation in passing, as it were, but after all, according to the observations of experts, the prereferendum battle exacerbated it still more. The president and the Supreme Soviet, fighting for the votes of the electorate, raised minimum pensions and grants, decided to index savings bank deposits, and raised the salary scales of the military... Have they not thereby themselves cranked up the inflationary spiral?

[Poltoranin] Both Vice Premier Boris Fedorov and the ex-head of cabinet, Yegor Gaydar, believe that the measures which were adopted strain, but do not destroy, the budget. And the mechanism for bankruptcies, which I have already mentioned, will alleviate the negative consequences of the measures for the social protection of the population.

In addition, in my conviction, the president should take the bank away from parliament and retire Gerashchenko, who with his antimarket measures is inflicting damage on budget and finance policy.

[Zamyatina] You believe that the president's opponents have suffered defeat. Are there not fears that they will try to take revenge, to win back the mass media, for example?

[Poltoranin] They are revanchist by nature and will cling on to power to the last inch. The May Day provocations organized in Moscow by representatives of the Supreme Soviet-SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]-Communo-Fascist political axis have convinced us of this once again. If we had lost at the referendum, these forces would have turned the whole country into Gagarin Square. Going unpunished has perverted them, the blood of others dilates their nostrils with vengeful frenzy. It is time to talk to them through the strict language of the laws. I think that the president, having received a vote of confidence at the referendum, understands this well. He does not have the right to allow the Congress or the Supreme Soviet to win back ground in the press—let Khasbulatov not flatter himself on this score. The press will breath freely. It will keep only one God above it—the Law.

Opposition Highlights Minority Support for Yeltsin

PM0405100393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Linkov report under the "Factions" rubric: "Opposition Considers That the Country Is Ruled by Mensheviks"]

[Text] Parliamentary factions have started energetically analyzing the results of the all-Russia referendum. Discussing the preliminary figures at its recent session, the "Russian Unity" parliamentary opposition bloc came to the conclusion that the country is ruled by... mensheviks.

The president and the policy pursued by him are approved by one-third of the population on average. The other two-thirds disagree with him. One of the bloc leaders, Mikhail Astafyev, compared the data obtained to the correlation of forces in the Congress of People's Deputies, where likewise only one-third unhesitatingly sides with the president, while the others have their own opinion.

Only seven of the 21 national-state formations in the Russian Federation have supported the president.

During the referendum Boris Yeltsin lost more than 6 million voters who voted for him in 1991.

All these figures give the president serious grounds for considering whether he has the moral right to remain in office, according to the opposition.

To the idea of the Supreme Soviet's dissolving itself, as proposed by certain parliamentarians, Ivan Rybkin observed that the greatest lack of confidence in the body of deputies was expressed notably by Muscovites, where the most consistent followers of the president are elected people's representatives. They should therefore resign.

Nevertheless, the respresentatives of the opposition are ready to hold early elections, but only if presidential elections are held too.

Commenting on the president's proposal for the adoption of a new constitution in the very near future, Vladimir Isakov noted that an attempt to impose the new Basic Law would only deepen the split in society and exacerbate a situation which is already catastrophic.

DPR Leader Cited on Election Support Foundation

PM0305132593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Olga Kondratyeva report: "New Elections Will Be Won Not by Lone Individual But by a Team"]

[Text] On 14 April 1993 the Russian Ministry of Justice registered the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] Election Campaign Support Foundation. The foundation was launched at the Journalists' Center at the end of last week. Journalists were addressed by party leader Nikolay Travkin. The meticulous journalists immediately tried to find out what was behind it: Foundations are mushrooming, and they are mostly designed to provide material support for their creators.

Nikolay Travkin explained that there was nothing criminal in setting up this foundation and that journalistic suspicion derives from the general low standard of political awareness. This is the first party foundation in Russia whose aim is to help form a civilized system of political democracy. The foundation builds up the financial resources necessary to carry out scientific research projects, to provide methodological and organizational backup for election campaigns, to train activists, and to develop voters' political awareness.

The foundation, which relies on voluntary monetary contributions from citizens and commercial and public organizations, plans to conduct its own economic and investment activity in the interests of the DPR's election campaigns. The party's financiers have calculated that at the next elections each vote will cost 250 rubles [R], while the parliamentary elections will require around 3-4 billion.

In a society with a normal political temperature, Travkin explained, a party is constantly on election status. We are talking here not just about presidential and parliamentary elections, but about regional elections of soviets and heads of administrations. The foundation already has enterprises contributing income (for example, in Rostov, Vladimir, Ryazan, and Voronezh) and can therefore launch straight into an election campaign. The "Imidzh" enterprise, which has been specializing in the sphere of psychotherapy and sociology for some time now, is one such. With its help the DPR intends to test party candidates for particular elected posts and also give them training. The next elections will most likely take place in the fall, Travkin said. The DPR is preparing for them right now. The foundation organizers have studied the experience of other countries which have held multiparty elections many times and maintains links with similar national democratic institutions, mainly in the United States.

"I am convinced," the DPR leader said, "that the next election campaign will be won not by a lone individual but by a team in which the main political figures have already been allocated their functions. At the same time the team must be free of a leader cult [vozhdizm], it will then enjoy greater sympathy among voters." "As far as the functions of presidential power are concerned," Travkin noted, "they must be strictly delineated. This doesn't exist today, and the actions of the president are aimed at holding on to power and stifling alternaive ideas rather than stabilizing the country.

"The recent term 'governability' has the same sources. If the reforms were real rather than paper reforms, economic interest would be their driving force and the focus of reforms would shift to local level, where they must be

carried out. Instead we have interminable talk about shifting reforms to the regions. You get talk wherever there is no work."

Nikolay Travkin noted the pattern of biased control of the mass media by one political tendency in the runup to the referendum: "It is impossible to alter the field of power at once. The power structures in our country are provisional in nature, as are the voters. It is necessary to raise the standard of elections."

Judge Hits Congress Over Referendum Procedure

PM0405093993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Vladimir Nadein: "With Its Questions the Congress Laid a Cunning Juridical Trap for the People; Judge E. Ametistov's Particular Opinion"]

[Text] With its decision on the procedure for counting the votes at the referendum the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies deliberately violated a number of Russia's laws. This is the inescapable conclusion that follows from the "particular opinion" of E.M. Ametistov, member of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court.

Although Judge Ametistov makes no attempt to investigate the reasons why legislators ventured to deliberately violate the country's Constitution and the Law on Referenda, the logic of his opinions leads to only one possible explanation: The majority of deputies sacrificed the juridical purity of their decisions for the sake of political interests and immediate advantage.

This is the second time in recent months that Ernst Mikhaylovich Ametistov has spoken out against the majority in the Constitutional Court with his own "particular opinion." He was also one of the three judges who refused to deem B.N. Yeltsin's television address of 20 March unconstitutional.

Laws Are Changed by Laws

The Constitutional Court deemed that the first two referendum questions ("Do you trust Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin?" and "Do you approve of the socioeconomic policy that has been carried out by the Russian Federation president and the Russian Federation Government since 1992?") do not correspond to the Russian Federation Constitution in their content.

While agreeing with this, Judge Ametistov considers it of fundamental importance to add that both questions also fail to correspond to the country's Constitution in form and adoption procedure.

"Applied to the case under examination what has been said means that, desiring to change the Law 'On RSFSR Referenda,' the Congress of People's Deputies should have done this in the form of a special law on such changes, for—in line with the principle of legality indicated above—laws can be changed only by laws," E. Ametistov writes in his "particular opinion."

By amending the law by means of an individual act, applicable only to the specific referendum of 25 April, the Congress committed a formal violation. As for the procedure for adopting the act, this was disregarded in that there was simply no prior discussion of the drafts by the relevant standing commissions of the chambers or by the committees of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

"The practice of repealing, changing, and supplementing laws by degrees of the Congress of People's Deputies having an individual character and moreover adopted without the established procedures being observed violates a principle of legality, and is moreover a threat to the stability of legislation and undermines respect for the laws of Russia," Judge E. Ametistov believes.

Taking Account of True Intentions

However, E.M. Ametistov's most serious objections are directed against the part of the Constitutional Court's decree deeming the last two questions submitted to the referendum as belonging to the category of questions of adopting, changing, and supplementing the Russian Federation Constitution. In practice this meant that decisions on the questions "Do you consider it necessary to hold early elections for the presidency of the Russian Federation?" and "Do you consider it necessary to hold early elections of Russian Federation people's deputies?" are deemed to have been adopted if more than one-half of citizens registered to vote have voted for them.

Judge Ametistov claims: "Whether these questions really belong to the indicated category can be decided only as a result of interpreting both the normative acts on the basis of which and taking account of which the given referendum is to be held, and also the true intentions of the legislator who issued these acts."

What were the true intentions of the Congress? Judge Ametistov conducts a scrupulous analysis of the actions of the country's supreme legislative assembly. It is extremely significant that in this the author of the "particular opinion" does not in the least degree resort to political arguments, remaining emphatically indifferent to considerations on the lines of "the disintegration of the country" and "splitting society."

E. Ametistov makes the cornerstone of his arguments a premise which no one will venture to contest. It runs as follows: "As the direct, authorative expression of the people's will, such decisions (referenda—V. N.) are self-fulfilling acts producing a direct effect and do not require the adoption of additional acts by anyone whomsoever to ensure their execution."

Looking at questions three and four from the angle of this fundamental premise, it becomes patently obvious

into what a cunning trap we, the people of Russia, fell in filling in our ballot papers. However unanimously we voted "yes" or "no" on the last two questions of the referendum, their executive force was emasculated in advance.

Let us suppose that all 100 percent of registered voters had come out in favor of early elections of the soviets. In what form would this decision be executed? Within what period should these early elections be held? And within what period, on what conditions, should the other early elections be held?

These and other questions of fundamental importance could have been answered only if the congress had done what it was obliged to do. That is: "Ensure the conditions for the direct execution of the decision adopted by the referendum," E. Ametistov writes. "Prepared new drafts of the relevant articles of the Constitution should have been submitted to the referendum, and in the event of their being adopted by citizens, could have been directly incorporated, without additional acts being necessary, into the existing Russian Federation Constitution."

The judge believes that the procedure for counting the answers to questions three and four backed by the Constitutional Court could only have been justified if it had been a question of an early ballot on **any** president of the Russian Federation and **any** Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies. And since legal doctrine and practice recognize no single-purpose constitutional norms, one cannot only talk of "the absence of any intention on the Congress' part to change or supplement the Russian Federation Constitution as a result of the referendum, or their intention to violate... the provisions of the Constitution and the Law."

In all cases, answers to all four questions in the given referendum should have been deemed to have been adopted in the event of more than one-half of those who took part in the ballot voting for them. That is the first point. Second, even if the questions did belong to the category of changing and supplementing the Constitution, even so the number of citizens of the Russian Federation who are actually entered in the voting registers should have been taken as the starting point. But the Congress, however, decreed that it would be all citizens entitled to be included in the registers who would be considered, and thereby again violated the law for its own advantage.

The Train Is Still at the Station

Sometimes you hear that "the train has already left" and that "something must be done" with the referendum results in the form in which they now exists. There is even a suggestion to resort once more to the services of the Constitutional Court in order for it to give (this time at least!) an absolutely impartial interpretation of the final figures.

The potential danger of such an approach follows completely obviously from Ernst Mikhaylovich Ametistov's "particular opinion." Neither the president, nor the Congress, nor a court of any instance has the right to adopt decisions other than in execution of the will of the nation.

But something unpredictable has happened. No sooner were the first results made public than various branches of power began to give diametrically opposing interpretations of them.

It is now obvious that R.I. Khasbulatov was right in claiming that nothing would change in the country, whatever the results of the referendum. There is no need to be a professional jurist to accurately access how much the possibility of directly fulfilling the express will of the people was emasculated in the questions approved by the Congress.

The Russian Federation Constitutional Court's ruling, which to a serious extent influenced the de facto denial of the people's right, E. Ametistov writes, "to exercise state power not only through the soviets of people's deputies, but also directly," was adopted, of course, in full compliance with procedures, that is, by a majority of votes. However, this does not remove from the court's leadership, in particular from its chairman, V.D. Zorkin, the civic duty of giving explanations in response to the "particular opinion" of a court member.

This is especially important since very many professional jurists, and ordinary citizens likewise, consider E.M. Ametistov's arguments sufficiently convincing and fully meriting, if not execution, then at least a convincing and public refutation.

Referendum Seen Legitimizing Change

PM0405084393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 5

[Commentary by Sergey Alekseyev, correspondent member of the Russian Academy of Sciences: "The Crisis of Power in Russia. On the Political and Legal Significance of the Referendum and Ways of Forming Democratic Statehood in Russia"]

[Text] The results of the referendum (for all the anomalies connected with the method of counting the votes) are significant: Yes, to the Russian president, no to the people's deputies. The latter result, of course, not according to the official criteria but in effect.

What is the significance of results of this kind?

In the days preceding the referendum there was a widespread opinion—especially among adherents of the system of soviets—that the results of the referendum had no juridical significance. It was a sort of general moral evaluation on the lines of "do you or do you not respect..."

I have another view on this matter. In the dramatic situation which currently exists in Russia the results of the referendum take on a fundamental political and legal significance: It is these results which will in many ways predetermine Russia's fate.

Usurpation of Power

The fundamental fact which must be taken as a basis in characterizing the government's state-political and legal circumstances in connection with the referendum that has just been held in Russia lies in the following. After the disintegration of the USSR at the end of 1991, the RSFSR, as a component part of the USSR, lost its constitutional legitimacy, and in this respect it ceased to exist along with the union structures. Hence the indisputable conclusion that the organs of the former RSFSR—including the representative organs elected at that time, the Soviets—also lost their proper constitutional legitimacy.

In these conditions, in order to legally establish Russia's statehood, a juridically primary act of constitutional significance was required to act as the the basis for the formation of a sovereign Russian state. This was how some "union republics" did in fact act, declaring directly after the failure of the August putsch (in the case of Ukraine, after a referendum) a change in their state-legal status to full state independence, and this indeed had primary constitutional significance for the formation of these republics' own state systems.

In Russia this did not happen. The soviets and other RSFSR organs of power continued to function as the organs of power of a union republic, as though nothing had happened.

Well, within certain limits—so as not to allow a "hiatus in the law"—such a "survival" of organs of power, that is to say their continuing to function after the termination of a given state formation, is entirely justified. It is necessary to prepare conditions for the formation of a new state system and to maintain proper law and order in the state and resolve urgent questions of economic and social life.

But, after all, we are confronted with a phenomenon of a different order. The existing soviets themselves, elected in the conditions of the RSFSR as the representative organs of a socialist state, quietly "legalized themselves," began to implement "reforms" de facto, and took it upon themselves (by preparing the Constitution) to form a new democratic state system.

But this is nothing less than the **direct usurpation of power**, that is to say, the appropriation of power by means other than through the law.

In this the soviets consider it their number one task to preserve the soviet system itself, i.e. the political basis of the socialist state which, it would appear, had become a thing of the past, the socialist state in whose guise functioned a totalitarian regime. It is noteworthy that even the newly introduced, in principle democratic, institutions (the presidency, the Constitutional Court, and so forth), are legislatively designed in such a way as not to shake the omnipotence of the soviets. The institution of the presidency, for example, is not formally denoted as the institution of the head of state, but only as a certain formation "within the system of executive power," while members of the Constitutional Court are appointed only by the Congress of People's Deputies.

And—probably most importantly of all—the soviets, having appropriated state functions which, according to the logic of state life, should not belong to them, have fortified their ruling status by a series of enactments and practical actions and turned it into an absolute, ruling out the very possibility of a different, truly democratic method of forming the new Russian state system. In particular, the very possibility of raising the question of confidence in the Congress and convening a Constituent (Constitutional) Assembly is rejected.

Dyarchy

I will not disguise the fact that both I and my colleagues are moved to protest by the claims that are repeated day after day that the essence of the crisis of power in Russia consists in the conflict between its "two branches"—the legislature and the executive. The calculation of the soviet system's advocates here is obvious—the president as head of state is reduced in status to the level of merely the chief executive, and moreover, the essence of the power crisis in Russia is occluded. But why do the democrats themselves keep repeating this cunning formula over and over, and why do the president and his supporters also use it?

After all, it is clear that what is happening is a clash between two incompatible systems of power—the system of the soviets, on the one hand, and a new state system, represented by the institution of the presidency, on the other. This clash affects, at one extreme, the organs of power which have in principle lost their constitutional legitimacy but have usurped power and are seeking to perpetuate it and, at the other, the organs of a power still trying to gain a foothold but at the same time directed toward forming a truly democratic Russian state system.

Hence these acutely alarming realities: Both systems of power are operating simultaneously, thereby creating a situation of dyarchy.

One system is the system of the soviets, which claim supremacy in the state. This system relies on the existing Constitution, on the laws which it itself adopts, which, moreover, are any laws which it deems necessary. In short, the soviets possess a mighty force—the force of the laws; and the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, and the soviets at other levels constantly use this power, increasingly concentrating command functions into their own hands and resolutely scotching attempts to base power on other, truly democratic foundations.

The other system is the system of democratic power based on the supremacy of the people and the separation of powers, and represented by the institution of the presidency. But this power has not yet been fully "constituted," has not yet expressed itself in a system of "separated" organs—a legislature, an executive, and a judiciary—endowed with a new constitutional legitimacy. The president can raise the issue of constituting such a power through adopting a new, democratic Constitution. But according to the existing Constitution and laws he does not have legal means of his own to alter the state of affairs in current conditions.

So society finds itself in a state of state-legal uncertainty, inevitable confrontation, and endless battle. Numerous conflicts arise (and also legal anomalies, all the way down to the fact that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet often openly acts as head of state). Conflicts which in the final analysis—as always in a dyarchy—lead to the collapse of the state, anarchy, legal, chaos and an orgy of tyranny.

At the present time a number of jurists and leaders persistently stress that we should be guided by the "written law"—the existing Constitution and other existing laws. Indeed, without following the "written law" no legality is possibile in principle. The only problem is that in the existing Constitution and laws it is necessary to clearly distinguish between, on the one hand, primary legal values and principles, and on the other, juridically formalized provisions left over from the legal procedures of the totalitarian regime. Thus in the existing Russian Constitution there is Article 3, which enshrines the principles of people's power and the separation of powers; but there also exist the provisions of Article 104 which "sanctify" the absolute power of one of the subdivisions of the state. And I think that the supreme duty of the president, the subjects of the Federation, and all repositories of Russia's state sovereignty is to establish legality and law and order based on the underlying principles and values of the written law, above all those expressed in Article 3 of the existing Constitution.

Prospects

An impasse? Yes, an impasse. Because there is no possibility, it would appear, while remaining on the ground of existing legality, of adopting a primary constitutional act opening the way to forming a modern Russian state. One system of power, although itself devoid of the proper legitimacy, not only does not wish to change the existing state of affairs but has also securely blocked the very possiblity of such changes. The other system (the president) has no legal means that rest on the existing Constitution and laws which would open up the prospect of forming a new, truly democratic Russian state system.

What then is to happen? Surely Russia is not simply doomed to persist in a situation of state and legal uncertainty, whereby the system of the "all-powerful" soviets, the original repositories of totalitarian dictatorship, drawing on the power of "their" laws, continue to gain more and more ground?

And here it must be acknowledged that in these circumstances there is no way out of the dramatic, deepening crisis or any solution of this seemingly insoluble problem other than to give the say to the people themselves—the supreme and only master of their fate, the sovereign source of power in society. And, thank God, there is a legal institution recognized under the existing Constitution and by the legislature which enables the people's will to be manifested—the referendum. And such a referendum—albeit with certain crafty questions, straightforward pieces of guile in the soviets' favor—has been held. And its results proved to be in favor of democracy and democratic reforms.

Today we have strong grounds for maintaining that the results of the referendum enable the state-legal uncertainty to be overcome. Of course, the results of the referendum would be more significant if the questions had been posed directly, "head on"—including the question of the legal powers [pravomochnost] of the soviets and the need to convene a Constituent (Constitutional) Assembly in order to adopt a new Constitution and a new democratic electoral law. But since this proved impossible, and is hardly possible anyway in the present situation of the usurpation of power by the soviets, the results of the referendum just held now have major political and legal significance.

Let us begin from the reverse of what actually happened—from the assumption that the results of the referendum had proved to be unfavorable for the prospects of democracy in Russia. If the majority of Russian citizens who turned out to vote had not deemed new elections of the people's deputies to be necesssary: That would have meant, like it or not, that confidence had been expressed in the soviets, and even would even have conferred a certain legitimacy on the soviets.

But if that is true, the obverse conclusion is also logical: The opinion of the majority of electors who turned out to vote that new people's deputy elections are necessary essentially signifies a lack of confidence in them, and, therefore, reinforces the conclusion that the soviets are constitutionally illegitimate; at any rate, it testifies to the absence of that legitimacy, which stems directly from the people.

On the contrary, the fact that confidence has been expressed directly in the president means not simply that a majority of Russians react positively to the present state leader but, above all, that they support the institution of the presidency itself as the expression of the new Russian statehood and, I think, support the draft new Constitution and the president's course toward the truly democratic, constitutional transformation of Russia.

What sort of mechanism and logic for the actions of the president is possible in these conditions?

An answer to this question would require a thorough discussion drawing not so much on existing prosoviet legislative enactments as on the underlying principles and values of the law—above all, the unconditional primacy and supremacy of the people's will.

We should not rule out the possibility, albeit small, that the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet will take notice of the new state-legal realities that have arisen following the referendum and will themselves adopt a decision to convene a Constituent (Constitutional) Assembly and a new electoral law and submit the draft new Russian Constitution to the approval of the people.

Or perhaps the Constitutional Court, which is supposed to render unshakable the values of people's power and law expressed in the Constitution, will play its law-confirming role?

And if this does not happen?

Various options are possible here. The best is to rely on the subjects of the Federation which, just like the president, have the mandate of the people and are the direct repositories of sovereignty based on the expression of the people's will. In this way it may be possible to find logical ways of forming a Constituent (Constitutional) Assembly and adopting a new Constitution.

Whatever option is taken, time will not wait, and, following the referendum, which determined the people's will, urgent solutions are necessary to avert the looming state-legal chaos and bring about the formation of a stable, strong Russian state—the state of a free, democratic society.

Economic Issues

BBC Interviews Gaydar on Course of Reforms

TB0405120593 London BBC Television Network in English 0700 GMT 4 May 93

[Interview with former Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by John Nicholson in London on 4 May; from the "Breakfast News" program—live]

[Text] [Nicholson] Good morning, Mr. Gaydar.

[Gaydar] Good morning.

[Nicholsol] Mr. Gaydar, you were the premier who was responsible for this swift move toward the market economy, which seems to have left the Russian industry and the Russian economy in a bit of mess. Do you regret the fast move looking back?

[Gaydar] No, I would not agree with this statement. First of all, the Russian economy and Russian industry was in a terrible mess in the year 91, after the sixth year of undecisive Gorbachev reforms, with our industrial output failing not from the year 92 but from the year 89. So it was impossible to live any more in this mess between two systems from which one old doesn't work any more and the preconditions for the new were not formed.

[Nicholson] Well you say that it is impossible to live in two systems, of course there is a model where a better transition to a market economy has been achieved, and that is China. I mean, your critics say that your problem was that you pushed far too fast and in an uncontrolled way, resulting in the massive inflation for instance that we see now.

[Gaydar] Well the Chinese experience was not the trying to live in two systems, it was an attempt of the organized transformation of one system...

[Nicholson, interrupting] Well you could have don that.

[Gaydar] No I could not, because as a precondition to this strategy we would have another political situation. China is autototalitarian regime, with a strong political control over the happenings in the economy, and it is impossible to try to reform this kind of a system. In the year 91 and the Russian autototalitarian was destroyed by the events of year 90 and 91 and especially by the August coup. [sentence as heard]

[Nicholson] But nonetheless we are in the year 93 now and things are not working. What do you think, looking back, was your biggest mistake?

[Gaydar] Well, first of all I would not agree with this either, that things are not working. We are going through a very difficult transition, but even now, we can see at least some results in the changing society. First of all, the most serious problem of our economy is now not with us, and it is a problem with a shortage economy and the difficult lines in which the average citizen would have to wait approximately one day per week.

[Nicholson] These average citizens of course, as we know, voted for Boris Yeltsin, in a major personal triumph. You are still very close to Boris Yeltsin, you are still an economics adviser behind the scenes with him. What lessons has he learned from the referendum?

[Gaydar] Well I think that first of all, the result of the referendum is strong political support to his policy, including the policy of economic reforms, when the second question, the question of the support of economic policy of the year 92-93 was included...

[Nicholson, interrupting] So he takes it as a vote of confidence?

[Gaydar] Yes, of course.

[Nicholson] In fast economic change, as well as his personal popularity?

[Gaydar] Including the fast economic change.

[Nicholson] It is interesting to hear, I am sure his opponents will be interested to hear that as well, Mr. Gaydar thank you very much indeed for joining us.

Yeltsin Prepares Decree for Economic Support to Media

LD0305165893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1644 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow May 3 TASS—Editors of Russian newspapers and magazines met in Moscow's House of Journalists today to complain of the exorbitant prices for newsprint and distribution services which can victimize all publications for the family, women and children.

It does the speakers credit that they did not only bemoan the lamentable situation but came up with proposals for constructive solutions to the problems jointly with the Ministry for the Press and Information of the Russian Federation and the Russian Federal Information Centre.

Presidential Council member Alla Yaroshinskaya told the gathering that a presidential executive order is ready for signing to provide economic support and protection for the media.

The presidential decree gives a go-ahead to corporatisation of printing houses by the collectives of respective publishing houses, the establishment of a press credit bank, tax and benefits, including a journalists' investment fund.

Chairman of the Russian Journalists' Union Vsevolod Bogdanov, who organised the roundtable meeting, said these ideas would be put into practice in the nearest future.

Government Says Republics To Pay World Fuel Prices

LD3004162293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] The Russian Government has decided that the other republics of the former USSR must pay world prices for Russian fuel, Radio Russia reported today. Quoting an ITAR-TASS news agency report, the radio said fuel deliveries for which other conditions are laid down by special agreement would not be subject to the decision. Supplying fuel at lower prices than those set in line with the decision will be treated as a breach of the regulations covering prices.

Further on Oil Industry Workers Congress

PM3004155193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Yekaterina Vasilchenko report under the "Reporting Details" rubric: "Credit Will Be Issued for Specific Programs"]

[Text] The second stage of the Second Congress of Oil Industry Workers of Russia has discussed the measures taken by the Russian Federation Government to stabilize the operation of the oil industry complex. I would remind you that the first stage of the congress took place 5 March, but its participants, annoyed at the absence of anyone from the "powers that be" in the hall, adjourned their proceedings for almost two months.

Many enterprise directors and Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik, who comes from the oil industry sector, addressed the congress. They attribute the crisis in the sector, manifest in the marked fall in oil extraction and refining, to the paralysis of the financial and banking system, the absurd system of price formation and taxation, and the complete absence of reciprocal settlements along the whole route from well to gas pump.

According to participants in the congress, if the position is to be improved, the Central Bank has to be subordinated to the Russian Federation Government; a reciprocal settlement mechanism should be immediately started up; economic, administrative, and criminal liability for banking transactions which are more than 10 days overdue should be introduced into the law; pricing and tax policy should be revised while observing the balance of interests of oil workers and the state; and the oil industry complex should be provided with long-term credit against future deliveries of oil.

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who participated in the work of the congress, noted here that prudence must be exercised in questions of granting credit. Last year Stavropol Kray received 40 billion [currency not specified] in credit on condition that 27 billion of it be repaid within one year. A year has passed, but to date only 1 billion has been received. Similar situations obtain in Krasnodar Kray and Kaluga Oblast. It is not known where the money has been spent or who specifically is accountable. The allocation of credit to agriculture has led, according to Chernomyrdin, to a sharp fall in the ruble's rate of exchange on the currency exchanges, as agricultural workers rushed to change their credit for hard currency: They needed it to purchase diverse equipment abroad.

Mindful of all this, the prime minister summed up by saying that credit will be issued only for specific, well-thought-out programs.

Oil Producers Want Tariffs Cut, Transport Improved

MK0405092693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 May 93 p 2

[Aleksey Makarov report: "Closed-Door Meeting of 'Oil Generals.' Oilmen Maintain Cooperation With Middlemen"]

[Excerpt] Oil producers' immediate plans for lifting the sector out of financial crisis were discussed from 28 April to 1 May initially in Moscow and later in Tyumen, where a meeting was held attended by the chiefs of East Siberian oil producing enterprises who were delegates to the Congress of Oil Industrialists that ended on 27 April. Despite the fact that the meetings were held behind

closed doors, a KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent managed to obtain commentaries on some of the decisions adopted from those participating in the meeting.

The "oil generals," speaking with your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent, expressed their concern over repeated negative pronouncements by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin about nonstate companies' engaging in oil and oil product trading. That this assessment was shortsighted was confirmed by Russian Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik in his speech at the congress of oil producers (see KOMMERSANT-DAILY of 28 and 29 April). According to the minister, oil and oil product sales are beginning to play an increasingly important role owing to two factors: the emerging trend toward overstocking the domestic market and the loss of traditional foreign markets for the sale of Russian oil.

Participants in the meeting point to a number of reasons for the current situation. These include, first and foremost, the continuing failures on the part of state-run foreign economic middlemen to comply with the timetable for oil export deliveries, which have been fulfilled only at 70 to 75 percent in the past few months; according to Tyumen oil producers, this is due to the shortage of transport equipment. This year Tatarstan and Bashkortostan have been given the right to dispose on their own of one-third and one-fifth respectively of the oil produced on their territories. Thus, exporters from these republics have an opportunity to carry out their trade policies without having to ask Russian authorities for permission. As a result, the pipeline from the Volga region to Ventspils has effectively been operating to pump only Tatar and Bashkir oil exports and is unavailable to Russians.

What the oil producers deem as the most serious destabilizing factor, however, is that export tariff rates for Russian fuel oil are set too high. At present, up to 95 percent of the profits generated by these transactions are channeled to the state budget, therefore exports are on the wane.

At the same time, owing to obsolete technologies used by Russian oil refineries, fuel oil accounts for a very large proportion (up to 50 percent) of production in the refinement process. The fuel oil reserves left unsold are growing by the day and the excessive quantities of them stored in refineries' storage facilities may cause an even steeper slump in oil refining because there will be no room to store new production. [passage omitted]

Minimum Pension Raised to 8,122 Rubles 1 May

LD0105064493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0330 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] As from today, the minimum pension in Russia is 8,122 rubles, whereas the maximum pension does not exceed 20,000 rubles. In accordance with a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the pensions have been increased 1.9 times. It is intended to revise the size of the pensions in the future, depending on inflation.

The only fly in the ointment as far as this pleasant piece of news is concerned is that the increase in May of pensions, benefits, and student's grants will entail the release on the consumer market of hundreds of billions of rubles and, this, in turn, in the view of experts, will cause the further spiralling of inflation.

Central Bank Steps Up Oversight of Banking Operations

PM0405101593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 4

[Ivan Zhagel report: "The Bank of Russia Tries To Establish Control Over the Work of Commercial Banks"]

[Text] The Central Bank of Russia's Council of Directors has ratified the Statute on the Main Administration for the Inspection of Commercial Banks and Its Territorial Organs.

Of course, the creation of yet another organizational subdivision in the Bank of Russia would not merit much attention, but in the case in question it is a matter of defending the interests of the millions of clients of commercial banks—moreover, of both juridical and real persons. Because the main task of the new administration is to monitor directly at local level the fulfillment of banking legislation by commercial banks and other credit institutions, and also to verify the authenticity of bookkeeping, the realism of financial accounting, and the legality of transactions carried out and their compliance with issued licenses.

In an interview with IZVESTIYA Sergey Panov, chief of the new administration, especially stressed that hitherto functions of monitoring the activity of commercial banks have been fulfilled on an ad hoc basis, there being no system in this area. Certain measures were taken only where a financial transgression or malpractice had already been committed. The new service will try to prevent such practices and to help commercial banks, and thereby avert mass bankruptcies among credit institutions and ensure the stability of their operations.

In the initial period the Main Administration for Inspection and its regional branches will employ roughly 350-400 specialists. In line with the established provisions they will have right to receive from commercial banks any information or documents that interest them. True, the question remains: Will the banks themselves want to share their secrets and to help the work of the inspectors?

According to S. Panov, they have already encountered incidents where credit institutions have restricted auditors' access to authentic documents. However, the new administration is vested also with punitive functions—it

can demand the replacement of the leaders of any bank or repeal altogether its license to conduct banking transactions.

Official Views 'Positive' Results of Privatization

LD0405111593 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0730 GMT 4 May 93

[Interview with Dmitriy Valeryevich Vasiliev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Management of State Property, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Vasiliev] I take a fairly positive view of the results [of privatization] so far, and think that we have managed to make quite good progress although the goals that the Supreme Soviet set for the state privatization program have not been fully met. However, the scale of the privatization completed thus far in Russia is unequalled anywhere in the world. Half of all small businesses are now in private hands, as of 1 April that is. We have floated 3,500 enterprises. The first 1,000 enterprises to be sold off via privatization voucher auctions have been fully prepared for this. This is no longer academic; time was when we would sell off one enterprise and then shout the news to the whole country, but now it is becoming run of the mill.

Hundreds, several hundred investment foundations have been established, and they are helping people use their privatization vouchers. In other words, the whole process is off to a good start. The job in hand now is to focus on privatization of large industrial enterprises, via privatization vouchers. In a number of cases workers have bought out the shares in their own factories, through closed subscription schemes or easy terms, but people who do not work at a factory being privatized have not had much chance to invest, they have been able to do this in only about 1,000 enterprises. That is quite a few, but still not enough. Our main task in 1993 is to expand the local privatization auction process. Every region should be holding these auctions, all the time. Not one and then take a break, but all the time, every week or every month there should be dozens of businesses being sold off, and people should know that these sell-offs are continuing.

[Correspondent] The vouchers are now settling down on the market, they are growing in value and I am sure that the attitude toward them will improve. [words indistinct]. Should we assume that this is one of the features of the state program now under discussion?

[Vasiliev] Yes. The whole state program for 1993 is built around selling vouchers, that is, privatization voucher auctions. The task is to organize these auctions, for which we need to change the financing system for investment foundations and organize authorities to handle the privatizations, and also provide an incentive to employees and managers at enterprises being privatized so that they have an interest in shares in their factory being sold to outside people for vouchers. This might seem paradoxical, but the state program contains incentives that have had a strong effect on many enterprises. First, and most important, this represents escaping the control of state bureaucrats. Enterprises become fully independent and now managers and workers, having become their own or even somebody else's shareholders, are fully independent and run their business by themselves without any ministries or local administrations butting in. The second point is also very important: Before the sale of shares for vouchers is completed, plots of land could well be sold to privatized enterprises. This is a huge incentive: to buy up land immediately, to increase your holding.

The third point is the transfer gratis or on easy terms of shares from the flotation fund of an enterprise to that enterprise's workers, plus incentives for directors, also in the form of shares.

All this is bound up in one system around the privatization voucher auctions. The next step is full support post-privatization for enterprises. That is our next job, but the main thing at present is the privatization auction process.

[Correspondent] My final question, which you have already started answering, is how the state program takes account of the particular features of regions and industries.

[Vasiliev] I think that in 1992, during the initial phase of the privatization process, we were not fully able to allow for specific regional features. The actual authorities to handle privatization had not yet been established, (?and the auctions were yet to take place). But now we do have privatization authorities at local level, and they are very powerful. We have amassed experience and developed procedures. Regions do vary greatly, of course, and we definitely have to take account of these variations—especially in a country which is a federated state and operates under a federation treaty. At the moment we are working out and rapidly expanding and reworking our thinking on regional privatization variations in favor of extending regions' rights to pursue a privatization policy that best fits their local requirements. The main mechanism is in place—the voucher auction. But how to do it at local level should be decided most of all by the region concerned.

There is a constant debate going on at the moment, meetings are being held all the time on what procedures should be included into the state privatization program so that it conforms to the federal system of our country and, most of all, so that privatization works and is more achievable.

Military Issues

Top Pacific Fleet Officers Receive Promotions

OW0305204293 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 22 Apr 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Yesterday marked 61 years since the formation of the Pacific Fleet, and this anniversary, dear to all Pacific coast dwellers, will become particularly memorable for a number of commanders in the fleet.

On the eve of the anniversary, Vice Admiral Georgiy Gurinov, the new commander of the TOF [Pacific Fleet] was promoted to admiral by an edict of the president of the Russian Federation. The same edict promotes Rear Admirals Igor Smirnov, Vladimir Kuroyedov and Valeriy Kozhevnikov, commanders of TOF task forces, to vice admirals. Captain First Rank Vladimir Tsarev, Chief of Rear Services of one of the task forces, has been promoted to rear admiral.

Regular Service Troops Will Move To Contract Hire

PM0405094993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Apr 93 p 3

[Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Press Service report: "Those Who Do Not Sign a Contract Will Be Dismissed from Military Service"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Ministry of Defense has started concluding contracts with servicemen in accordance with the Russian Federation Law "On Military Service Obligation and Military Service." This will primarily apply to those training at military schools and academies and at military faculties of civilian higher education institutions . Their contracts must be concluded by the end of May of this year. Servicemen who hold the rank of colonel (captain first rank) or general officer, as well as those who occupy posts which ex officio stipulate the aforesaid ranks, will sign them by the end of August 1993. Contracts will be concluded with all other servicemen by 31 December 1994. Those who do not sign a contract within the prescribed deadline will be dismissed from military service on the grounds stipulated in the law.

Northern Fleet Leads in Recruiting Contract Servicemen

PM0405091593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Apr 93 p 2

[Vladimir Gundarov report under the rubric "From Our Information Bureau": "New Generation Chooses... Ships"]

[Text] Severomorsk—The Northern Fleet occupies first place in the Russian Navy today in terms of the number of recruits for service on contract.

As Captain Third Rank Oleg Zemetchinskiy, deputy chief of the group for the planning and organization of service on contract, reported, there are now 4,000 "professionals" in the fleet. Of these, over 1,500 came from the reserve, around 500 were recruited from among servicmen who were being transferred to the reserve, and the others are former extended-service servicemen and seamen who have performed compulsory service for various periods.

Submarines To Be Used as Tankers in Arctic

LD0205205893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 2 May 93

[From the "New Market" weekly business feature]

[Text] The state company Rosshelf appears to live up to its promise of using the good services of Russian military manufacturers in working out the Arctic shelf. A meeting last week approved the concept of using U-boats for the production and transport. One of the tankers under this program will be a nuclear submarine 238 metres long, with capacity of 30,000 tons of oil, capable of sailing for 50 days. To build a complex for the servicing of U-boats will take five to six years on a budget of $210 million, but there is a place where this construction will be going on—the town of Severodvinsk, also known as Molotov in good old Josef's days.

Opposing Views on Recycling Nuclear Submarine Hulls

PM0405102593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 15

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Explorations and Problems": "Where Should the Reactors Be Buried?"]

[Text] The Navy has now decommissioned over 90 nuclear submarines which are to go for scrap. The submarines themselves can be cut up. But what is to be done with their "hearts"—the atomic reactors?

Two quite separate problems should be distinguished here: the atomic reactors themselves and the nuclear fuel.

The fuel itself, which represents the main potential danger to the environment and to people, can be reprocessed and prepared for secondary use.

However, the dismantled reactors or rather the parts and mechanisms inside them contain so-called induced radioactivity. The containment structure, in the specialists' opinion, is guaranteed for approximately 100-200 years. Thus, until a technology for recycling nuclear reactors is created, a temporary and at the same time perfectly safe form of storage is needed.

Such burial sites have now been found. The reactors from the nuclear submarines decommissioned by the Russian Navy will be buried in a deep tunnel in the rock. That tunnel needs to be brought up to standard now. By special decree of the Russian Government a program for the comprehensive reuse of nuclear submarines envisages that the work will be completed by the year 2000. According to Navy specialists, the burial site and its equipment will be ready by 1997 if all goes according to plan.

As for the submarine hulls, they are being sent for salvage to enterprises in the military-industrial complex engaged in the construction and repair of nuclear-powered vessels. The first state orders of this kind have already been given to "Sevmashpredpriyatiye" and the "Zvezdochka" plant. The important point is that the enterprises retain for themselves the profit received from the sale of very valuable scrap metal (we are talking about thousands of tonnes per hull) plus the materials and radioactively pure mechanisms. They are being allowed to do so by the government. But it will cost plants money to implement the program. The Navy is covering only the cost of removing the reactor compartments from the hulls. The capital investments will be recouped after the first nuclear ships are cut up. For example, enterprises have the right to sell abroad the metal recovered from the hull of a nuclear-powered vessel (top-quality steel or, better still, titanium alloy). Obviously this revenue will not plug all the gaps in the production associations' budgets, but it is a start.

"I am not entirely sure that cutting the hulls into pieces and sending the scrap to a metal combine is the best way of reusing a submarine hull," Nikolay Kalistratov, general director of the "Sever" Production Association, thinks. "Indeed, why should they be melted down at all? In my opinion, the strong design of the hull enables it to be used elsewhere. For example, it could serve as an excellent oil storage tank containing several thousand tonnes, and our specialists believe that they could be used this way for many decades to come."

The blunt truth of such schemes is also that neither "Sevmashpredpriyatiye" nor the "Zvezdochka" plant has the modern equipment needed to cut up the thick metal of a submarine's outer casing. That is why hulls have to be cut up using the old-fashioned ecologically "dirty" method of conventional oxyacetylene torches. So someone will have to fork out for clean processing systems. And all this is before anyone gets any of the profit which could be used to buy expensive new equipment.

The Russian Government decree on the salvage of Navy ships envisages the cutting up of several nuclear submarines. So for the time being this is still a trial of strength.

Supreme Soviet

Imports From CIS States Exempt From VAT

LD3004171993 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] The Russian Federation customs service will not levy value added tax [VAT] on goods imported into the Russian Federation from CIS states. This resolution was adopted today by the Supreme Soviet. The motion was proposed by the Soviet of the Republic's commission on budget, planning, taxation, and prices. The deputies were swayed by the argument that these imports have already been taxed.

Parliament Passes Law on International Treaties

MK3004122293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 10

[Aleksandr Koretskiy report: "Law on International Treaties Enacted. Deputies To Abrogate International Treaties on Their Own"]

[Text] The Russian Supreme Soviet yesterday ratified the treaties "On the Fundamentals of Relations Between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Korea," "On Friendship and Cooperation Between the Russian Federation and India," and "On the Principles of Relations Between the Russian Federation and Great Britain." Also enacted was the Law "On International Treaties of the Russian Federation," which regulates the procedures for concluding and abrogating treaties. This document, stipulating that the parliament's decisions take precedence in the drawing up of treaties, entitles the legislature to suspend or abrogate virtually any treaty.

It took the deputies around 15 minutes to ratify the three international treaties, although the treaty "On the Principles of Relations Between the Russian Federation and Great Britain" drew some objections. Vitaliy Sevastyanov, member of the "Communists of Russia" faction, said that "an allied relationship" with Great Britain should not be approved because that country pursued "an impermissible policy with regard to Yugoslavia." Despite the astronaut's objections, the treaty was nonetheless ratified, but the subject was followed up during the ensuing discussion on the settlement in Yugoslavia, when Ruslan Khasbulatov recommended that the Foreign Ministry leadership "should tighten up professionally" and avoid "unnecessary ideologization" in the future.

Turning to the second reading of the Law "On International Treaties of the Russian Federation," the people's representatives enacted it fairly quickly. The law applies to all treaties concluded by Russia, excepting only what the deputies termed as "those that do not create obligations for the Russian Federation." Under the law, both the parliament as a whole and its chambers individually, and also the presidium, may make recommendations during the drafting of international treaties and also send them back for review to parliament, the president, and the government, which must within two weeks give "a reasonable response to the recommendations" and take them into account while drafting the text of a treaty. Ministries and departments, however, are only entitled "to make proposals" under this law. Furthermore, the procedure for making them (unlike that for making parliamentary recommendations) has been strictly regulated: They are "to contain the key provisions or a draft of the treaty and also to give reasons justifying the treaty's conclusion." Another difference between "the proposals" and "the recommendations" is that the law says nothing about procedures for their consideration.

The procedure for abrogating or suspending international treaties is even more noteworthy. It gives significant room for creative actions by the Russian legislators. In principle, such proposals can also be made by the Foreign Ministry, but it is the parliament that has the final say. It gave itself the right "independently" to consider abrogating any treaty. (The final phrasing of this article was adopted on the basis of amendments made by the International Affairs Committee and Deputy Sergey Baburin). Henceforth, the president will either have to put his signature on the parliament's decision or send it back for review. If the combined majority of both chambers of the parliament still insists on abrogation, the president will be required to sign this decision and publish it within three days. At the same time, it is not clear from the text of the law what should be done if a treaty lays down a procedure for its abrogation different from that adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Thus, Russia now may "change its mind" at any time.

Parliament Overrides Yeltsin Veto, Passes Protection Law

MK3004084093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 29 Apr 93 p 9

[Aleksandr Koretskiy report: "Supreme Soviet Places State Protective Service Outside President's Control"]

[Text] After a repeat consideration of the laws "On State Protection of the Supreme Bodies of Government of the Russian Federation and Their Officials" and "On State Protection of the Supreme Representative Bodies of Government of the Russian Federation," both of which had been returned by the president, the Supreme Soviet overrode a presidential veto and passed them. Therefore the supreme executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government will now be able to set up their own protective services.

The gist of the president's amendments to the law "On State Protection of Supreme Bodies of Government of the Russian Federation and Their Officials" was to retain the president's jurisdiction over the protective services, as provided for by the current constitution and the law "On Security." The documents adopted yesterday, however, break down the traditional single structure of protection of supreme leaders which in the past was ensured by state security bodies. According to Ruslan Orekhov, a presidential spokesman and deputy head of the state and legal administration, Boris Yeltsin believes that this law makes the status of the protective bodies "fairly vague and ambiguous and creates prerequisites for using them in conflicting political-legal situations."

Nonetheless, the parliamentarians rejected the president's amendments on forming and reorganizing the federal protective bodies under his general oversight. At the same time Boris Yeltsin was denied the right to provide personal bodyguard services to Russian and foreign political and public leaders, "in light of the character of likely threats to their security."

As for the creation of bodies for the protection of supreme judicial authorities, they are to be formed in coordination with the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the Higher Arbitration Courts, and a decision on this will have to be approved by the president and the Supreme Soviet.

The deputies passed a law on the protection of bodies of the representative branch of government in execution of the first law and, in fact, in order to provide legal underpinnings for the creation of a parliamentary protection department. This subdivision is endowed with very broad powers, including the conduct of intelligence operations, in order to exercise its functions. According to Ruslan Orekhov, this law contradicts the Constitution, the law "On Security," and the law "On State Protection of the Supreme Bodies of Government of the Russian Federation and Their Officials," which was adopted yesterday.

As KOMMERSANT-DAILY has learned, although following the passage of the laws the possibility has emerged that the presidential office will create its own protective service, it will most likely refrain from drafting a regulatory act to do so.

Media Committee Deputies Criticize Reorganization

PM0305145193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Andrey Sharapov report under "News Conference" rubric: "Ball in Your Court"]

[Text] The proposal to examine the question of reorganizing the Committee for the Mass Media is made in the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the very next day committee members call a news conference and state that this is "political score-settling and a desire to stifle any alternative ideas inside the Supreme Soviet." Committee members Vladimir Anokhin, Igor Yeremin, and Boris Konovalov saw in the attempts to transform the committee's work a dubious moral aspect and an infringement of the principle of noninterference by the organs of power in the work of the mass media. This principle is supported by Bella Kurkova, leader of St. Petersburg television, and Sergey Yushenkov, deputy leader of the Federal Information Center, whose anxieties for pluralism in the mass media are generally known.

Poltoranin's deputy even cited quantitative figures for democracy on television: According to him, the number of speeches for and against the president on the first television channel were respectively 57 and 43 and on the second channel 47 and 53. The veil of secrecy over the Federal Information Center's activity finally lifted a little and it became at least partially clear what kind of

work its staffers are engaged in and what they get paid for: They count the minutes and hours of air time allocated.

Vladimir Lisin, who looked in at his colleagues' news conference, put the ball back in their court, assuring those in attendance that what is involved here is basic organization of the committee's normal lawmaking work. It is no secret that sometimes political passions so consume certain deputies that they are left with no strength to get on with their actual duties of creating laws governing state television and radio broadcasting.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Meets, Talks With Zelenograd Residents

LD0305171493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Early this morning Boris Yeltsin visited the town of Zelenograd, whose residents have supported him since the middle of the 1980s. Unlike any of his previous tours of various towns, the president did not pay any visits to factories or organizations, and he did not take part in meetings or sessions. He just talked to inhabitants of the town in the streets in order to find out their sentiments, concerns, and problems. As tradition required, the president visited a privatized food shop, where prices were much lower than in any of the neighboring shops. Yeltsin looked pleased with its work.

Naturally, the conversation touched on the 1 May events in Gagarin Square:

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin, to a crowd] On 1 May (?25 people) were arrested. The office of the procurator-general has set up a group [word indistinct], and this group [word indistinct] will especially be tackling these questions. I have seen the video. What happened was terrible. The militia followed orders; they did not allow them through. Demonstrators wanted to get to Leninskiy Prospekt, but the militia stopped them. The militia acted in accordance with the law, and 17 of our boys from the Interior Ministry are now in the hospital.

[Unidentified woman] Boris Nikolayevich, can they be shot? [laughter from the crowd, and exclamations saying that this is impossible]

[Yeltsin] Why should they be shot? The court will decide things. [end recording]

At other similar spontaneous meetings, Yeltsin spoke about further steps in the implementation of economic reform.

Cited on 'Harsh Measures'

LD0305175093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[By correspondent Vykhukholev from Zelenograd, including recording of remarks by President Boris Yeltsin—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Russian President Boris Yeltsin went on another unplanned trip today, this time to Zelenograd near Moscow. The president met the inhabitants of the town who were spending the work-free day at their plots and allotments. He also visited the town's first private shop.

[Yeltsin, addressing shop line] Have a good holiday.

[Vykhukholev] In his conversations with the people of Zelenograd, Boris Yeltsin discussed not only [word indistinct] problems, but major political issues.

[Yeltsin, addressing gathering] I understand that following the referendum, it is necessary to adopt a number of rather harsh measures. Such a package has been prepared and will be adopted after 5 May, since on that day the Electoral Commission will make public the final results of the voting. The first thing is, all the same, to adopt a new constitution, as fast as possible.

[Vykhukholev] Naturally, the May Day events in Moscow were also mentioned.

[Yeltsin] Twenty-six people were arrested on 1 May. The General Procuracy has set up a special team, headed by Lisin [as heard]; this team will now specially deal with these issues, specially. I saw the video recordings—it is terrible, it is clearly, simply... [sentence incomplete as heard]

Yeltsin Repeals Decrees Dismissing Administration Heads

LD3004133193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin repealed his decrees sacking heads of administrations of the Nenets and Koryak autonomous okrugs at their request. The press service spokesman did not give a reason for the repeal of these decrees.

St. Petersburg Thinks Communists Would Do Worse

LD0305122393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Over 50 percent of the inhabitants of St. Petersburg believe that if the Communists returned to power, the situation in the country would deteriorate even further. This is borne out by the results of an analysis of public opinion carried out by the Center for Studying and Forecasting Social Processes. Only one in twenty of

the inhabitants of St. Petersburg is sure that if the Communists returned to power, the situation in the country would improve.

New Fuel Restrictions Introduced in St. Petersburg

LD0305221293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0535 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] The state's normal provision of AI-92 unleaded gasoline has been reduced again in St. Petersburg. Beginning 3 May, the supply will consist of 150 tonnes per day, with the demand being 600 tonnes. That is why strict limitations have been imposed on the provision of fuel. Ambulances, police vehicles, and other specialized transport take priority.

Moscow CP Leader Interviewed on Party Work

PM0305185593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 2

[Interview with Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Shabanov, chairman of the Moscow city party organization executive committee and member of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Presidium, by Valentina Nikiforova; place, date not given: "Aleksandr Shabanov: 'We Cannot Survive on Our Own'"]

[Text] "Right now the situation is similar to that which prevailed in the fall of 1941: The enemy had advanced to the heart of Russia but the Siberian regiments had not yet come up," Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Shabanov, chairman of the Moscow city [party] organization executive committee and member of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Presidium, said.

This is a harsh assessment. The purpose of my interview with him was to determine what the capital's Communists can and should do now.

"The main task is to oppose a schism," A. Shabanov stressed the word "oppose." "The authorities are fostering a climate in which a number of communist parties exist: Splintered organizations lack strength. Moreover, all their zeal is expended in interparty quarrels. The counterrevolution is acting with deliberation and competence. Experts will determine when precisely it began in our country—1956, the mid-1960's, or the 1980's."

[Nikiforova] It is the same old story—we will have to wait and see. But we must oppose the counterrevolution today, otherwise tomorrow it will be too late. What idea should we currently rally round—the socialist or the communist idea?

[Shabanov] The state idea. And the patriotic idea. The individual cannot survive, let alone develop (how many times has he been glorified as being free!) without a strong state.

[Nikiforova] But Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, the difficulty is that your opponents, let us describe them thus, have churned out a vast quantity of lies and distorted facts regarding the great ideas of statehood.

[Shabanov] They have been unable to blame and condemn us for 75 years' work, and at the present time they are frantically searching for a criminal. Thus VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA has invented an anonymous informer bearing appalling news, and "Itogi" and "Radio Rossiya" have enthusiastically taken up the lie that the Communists are allegedly preparing to "physically remove the president." But this simply cannot be true!

[Nikiforova] What is the state of the Moscow city [party] organization at the present time?

[Shabanov] Three groups stand out. The first is the veterans. The foundation of our state was built with their labor, they defended it during the war, and they finished building it after the battle. They were the first to rescue the Communist Party.

The second group comprises workers at scientific institutions and higher education institutions. Prior to August 1991 they formed only a small proportion of the party—7-8 percent. But this group contained most of the sincere and honest people who were combative by nature and devoted to the idea. And now you regret the [old] percentage quota limiting entry into the party by the intelligentsia!

Unfortunately, there is also another group of former party members who seemed to have been expecting the post-August bans. This section (and it is a large one) comprises workers in state institutions, law-enforcement organs, and servicemen.

[Nikiforova] Have many workers registered?

[Shabanov] Unexpectedly, it is not workers who are registering at the moment but engineering and technical staff who are joining more actively. This is explicable, of course. First of all, there are no party organizations at enterprises; there are territorial organizations. After the working day and after standing in lines, you have to be really committed to get involved in social work... Second, everybody is hoping that in the lottery of the market he will certainly draw a lucky ticket and misfortunes will not affect him. Third, people are currently eating their way through and wearing out what they stocked up during the socialist period. Fourth, a peculiar Russian mentality is operating: Until the chief (foreman, director) makes up his mind, his subordinates make no decisions.

We agreed that we would not drag people along to see us, the doors of our party organizations are always open.

We do not have the means to communicate with our local organizations. We all engage in party work after our main job, on a voluntary basis. And right now we have no premises either. Thank you for putting our deputies

up at No. 19 on the Arbat. And our contact telephone number certainly needs to be announced: 203-77-71.

[Nikiforova] Are CPSU members who did not leave to join any other party registering, and how are those who have already managed to do some work in other communist- or socialist-oriented parties reacting to the rebirth of the Russian Federation Communist Party?

[Shabanov] In the primary organizations, as a rule, the question does not arise: Members of the Russian Communist Workers Party, the Russian Party of Communists, and the Socialist Party of Working People are working together with members of the Russian Federation Communist Party as one organization. In Moscow the most difficult situation regarding unity, it seems, is coming about owing to the surfeit of leaders. Unfortunately it is sometimes difficult for them to meet with one another and reach agreement if only on common actions. For example, when planning the 17 April people's forum, the Russian Communist Workers Party pursued a very correct aim: To express its lack of confidence in the existing regime and propose the draft Soviet Constitution drawn up by Yuriy Maksimovich Slobodkin's group. In theory this was the correct decision. The organizers hoped that hundreds of thousands of Muscovites and even delegations from other regions would turn up. Unfortunately they did not take the time factor into account: A rally is a rally, but those with vegetable gardens went off to tend them. Another factor: It was the day before Easter. And finally, mass action fatigue took its toll. Consequently far fewer people came. The Moscow rallies and pickets basically hinged on Viktor Anpilov.

[Nikiforova] So the Moscow city [party] committee prefers another tactic?

[Shabanov] Not at all, we are not renouncing rallies and demonstrations. For example, we are currently preparing for the 1 May demonstration.

But in my view individual work is currently more effective: In every place of residence and in collectives. At the moment, unfortunately, this is not working out very well: Our strength is not very great, and not everyone currently understands that we are an opposition party, nostalgia for party leadership nevertheless breaks through, there is a desire to lead but nobody to be led. We have to do everything ourselves: Write leaflets and organize our subscriptions to PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA...

[Nikiforova] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, right at the beginning you spoke about a creeping anticonstitutional coup. It is probably important to notice its symptoms and realize its consequences, but you will not stop it with a severe glance.

[Shabanov] In Moscow, as all over Russia, public committees are being set up to defend the Constitution. We decided to become the initiators of the establishment of these committees at the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Plenum 19 March. The idea was supported by Supreme Soviet members because it is the only chance of sparing the people a civil war.

[Nikiforova] Are you serious—about a civil war?

[Shabanov] A civil war is already going on on the edges of Russia. The remarkable scholar Viktor Alekseyevich Vazyulin, whose works have been forcibly suppressed, has come to the conclusion that communism is inevitable. This does not mean the replacement of one structure by another, rather a more spiritually elevated state of society. It seems the capitalist world realizes this and hence its aggressive death throes, the feverish transfer of conflicts from its own outwardly prosperous countries to other countries, the so-called Third World into which Russia is forcibly being pushed. If we can defend ourselves the rest of the world may be saved as well.

[Nikiforova] You are a candidate of chemical sciences, a senior lecturer at Moscow State University Chemistry Faculty, and suddenly you have gotten carried away with philosophy, history, and become the leader of the Communists' city organization.

[Shabanov] Not suddenly. I joined the party 30 years ago at university, then I did my postgraduate studies, and now I teach. My favorite pastime is science, of course. But I am no dilettante in social work. Things were both difficult and interesting on the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League committee and the party committee. I could have quit after August, but I had to support people and colleagues somehow. None of us can survive on our own. And what people there are in the university!

[Nikiforova] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, the 29th CPSU Congress has been held which has announced the establishment of the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU.

[Shabanov] There is a reason for what happened at the 29th Congress, this is one of the ways of establishing a union of Communist Parties. But in this case delay is as damaging as hastiness. In order for a union to exist, components are needed. But right now, unfortunately, these do not exist... We will meet with Communists from the republics—to take counsel and consult with each other.

Legislature-Executive Conflict in Chelyabinsk Worsens

PM3004153993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Conflict Deteriorates"]

[Text] The confrontation between the legislature and the executive in Chelyabinsk Oblast continues. The situation was not made any easier by the opening here yesterday of an oblast soviet session which discussed the results of the referendum and the election for head of the

oblast administration. The adopted resolution states that Petr Sumin, the current chairman of the oblast soviet, was elected head of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Administration 25 April. The president and the government will be notified of this decision.

At the same time, Vadim Solovyev—the man previously appointed head of the oblast administration by the president—and his team believe that the elections were illegal, as attested by the oblast court decision. In a TV interview the current head had previously stated that he would not allow power to be seized and that his team would lead the oblast even after 25 April, irrespective of the election result.

A decision has been made to extend the session indefinitely.

Tatarstan Referendum Vote Said Cast for 'Sovereignty'

PM3004175993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Dmitriy Mikhaylin report: "Tatarstan Has Voted in Favor of Sovereignty"]

[Text] The idea that Tatarstan has voted in favor of sovereignty was voiced at a news conference held last Tuesday [27 April] by Farid Mukhametshin, chairman of the Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Soviet.

He stated that the forecasts and statements, particularly those of President Shaymiyev, that the republic's population would treat the all-Russia event in a "more than restrained manner" had come about, unlike the forecasts of the "so-called democratic press and the so-called democrats who, either greatly out of touch with the population or deliberately distorting reality, predicted a high turnout and thus undermined confidence in themselves."

Nevertheless, the leadership of Tatarstan does not regret its decision to hold the referendum on the republic's territory, as its citizens are at the same time citizens of Russia. Moreover, the results of the referndum give the republic leadership grounds for speaking of growing confidence in it on the part of the people and of support for the autonomous course of reforms, which is substantially different from the federal one, since, "if a predatory policy of reforms such as now exists in Russia were to be pursued in Tatarstan, while in Russia the reforms were oriented toward the individual, all the inhabitants of the republic would have turned out at the polling places to cast a 'yes' vote for the federal reforms, but they did not do so, thereby backing our course."

In general, no matter how the initiators of holding the referendum try to boast, if it gave anyone anything, it was not to them or the other branches of Russian power, like, for example, the authorities of that same Tatarstan, inasmuch as "what they expected in Russia from the referendum after spending heaps of money and heating up political passions did not come about, and they will have to seek compromise anyway where they should have sought if from the very outset, without stirring up the regions—in the federal leadership," while the people in Tatarstan, without undue budgetary expenditure or political emotion, "have consciously voted in favor of the republic's sovereignty." Not for the first time, mark you.

Khabarovsk Official Supports Draft Constitution

LD0105082693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Viktor Ishayev, head of administration of Khabarovsk Kray, has supported the main clauses of the new draft constitution presented by the Russian president. In his opinion, it is a constitution of a presidential democratic republic. It guarantees strong executive and legislative authorities and regulates powers and responsibilities of all branches of government.

Vote on Bashkortostan's Extra Referendum Question Viewed

PM0305104993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Dmitriy Mikhaylin report: "Yeltsin Should Be Pleased..."]

[Text] A republic referendum with the following question was held in Bashkortostan simultaneously with the Russia-wide referendum: "Do you think that the Republic of Bashkortostan should in the interests of its peoples have economic autonomy and treaty relations with the Russian Federation on the basis of the Federation Treaty and the Appendix to it from the Republic of Bashkortostan?"

This question received a "yes" vote from 75.5 percent of those who took part.

As far as the four questions on the Russia-wide referendum are concerned, the positive votes broke down as follows: 39.6 percent, 35.9 percent, 41.9 percent, and 37.8 percent of those who actually turned out to vote.

By all accounts, the leadership of Bashkortostan decided to try to win concessions for its pliancy in signing the Federation Treaty. Let us recall that Tatarstan and Bashkortostan put forward roughly identical demands, only in the first case the Federation Treaty was not signed, while in the second the decision to sign it with the Appendix mentioned in the referendum question was made in a few minutes.

To continue the analogy with Tatarstan, the main charge leveled against the republic leadership during the holding of the 21 March referendum last year—the confused wording—can certainly be imputed to Bashortostan. Given that many economic rights are simply granted the republics by the Federation Treaty and those which do not suffice there are stipulated in the Appendix

to the Federation Treaty from Bashkortostan, what, then, is the point in holding the referendum?

I can find only one explanation for this: Bashkortostan, following once again the example of its neighbor, is seeking to sign a direct treaty with the Russian center. And the results of this parallel referendum can be used as a "weighty argument" for sorting things out with Moscow. Since Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, has spoken about this repeatedly, the question of the final determination of relations between Bashkortostan and the federal authorities has gotten bogged down somewhere in the corridors of the Kremlin. Incidentally, at a prereferendum news conference Murtaza Rakhimov said that "Yeltsin should be pleased that we have included this question, as he now has the chance to learn the will of the people of Bashkortostan."

And this is how Yuriy Demin, first deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, commented on the results of the voting on the extra question: "Recently many people in the Russian president's team and in other federal organs have been seeking to ignore the Federation Treaty, saying that it is the invention of the conservative Supreme Soviet and so forth. In voting 'yes' to the extra question the people of Bashkortostan have said that the Federation Treaty and the Appendix to it are an imperative of our life and times. Therefore we will continue to insist upon the swiftest possible implementation of these, for us, very important documents."

Kabardino-Balkaria Aide on Extent of Anti-Yeltsin Vote

PM0305123393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Yelena Musatova article under "Echo of Referendum" rubric: "They Could Have Expressed Confidence. But..."]

[Text] Nalchik—The results of the referendum are far from clear cut. In any event, they merit attention as evidence of certain feelings on the part of the voters. Among other things there was an exceptionally low assessment of the Russian authorities' policy in the North Caucasus, where the figures for people expressing confidence in President Yeltsin were as follows: Ingushetia—2.7 percent; Dagestan—14.3 percent; Karachay-Cherkesia—25.9 percent.

Against that background the result in Kabardino-Balkaria does not look so bad—35.8 percent expressed confidence in Yeltsin, 61.58 percent did not. However, these figures do not give the leaders of the republic's executive cause to rejoice.

Gennadiy Gubin, vice president of the republic, now analyzes the reasons why the majority of citizens of Kabardino-Balkaria refused to give Yeltsin their confidence:

The prime cause of Yeltsin's low rating is his indecision over the events in Abkhazia. The fact is that the Kabardins, who form around one-half of our republic's population, are ethnically related to the Abkhaz. Naturally they feel a sense of grievance for their brothers.

Second, the hasty decree on the Cossacks, which places them in a privileged position, played its part here. People of other nationalities do not understand how they are inferior to the Cossacks and ask why a Kabardin national guard, Balkar regiments, or Dagestani formations should not be created too. Thus the President himself and his aides are "fortuitously" not only undermining the trust in the central authorities but also laying the foundations for ethnic contradictions.

Finally, the Balkar section of the population is disappointed with the nonfulfillment of the president's edict on the rehabilitation of the Balkar people as a nation which fell victim to the repressions. It has remained an empty declaration: A mechanism for implementing it has not been worked out, resources have not been allocated, and the main areas have not been defined.

But had it not been for these infuriating blunders 50 percent of us would have voted for Yeltsin without any need for encouragement. We are very grateful to him for the edict in support of the socioeconomic reforms in our republic. True, further decisions are needed here on the allocation of resources, the specification of subcontractors for construction work, and much else.

In conclusion, let us add that 19.2 percent of the inhabitants of Kabardino-Balkaria answered "yes" to question two of the referendum on support for the socioeconomic policy of the president and the government. The figures favoring the reelection of the president and deputies were 36.5 percent and 31.1 percent respectively.

'Yeltsinite' Elected Head of Krasnoyarsk Administration

PM0405104393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent Valeriy Yaroslavstev report: "There Is a Governor, But Not Everyone Wants Him"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—The second round of the election for the head of administration of Krasnoyarsk Kray brought a convincing victory for acting Governor Vareriy Zubov. Seventy-four percent of voters, or 45 percent of the electoral roll, voted for him. His first deputy and rival Valeriy Sergiyenko won only 19 percent of the votes, which represents 12 percent of the number of registered voters.

Voters in the Taymir (Dolgano-Nenetsk) Autonomous Okrug, with the exception of Dikson, took part in neither round. This decision was made by the okrug inner soviet. The reasons for this are that the okrug is a component of the federation, it has an autonomous budget, but it does not have resources. We are ready to cooperate with the

kray on treaty bases, Taymir leaders state. They assure people that the okrug does not intend to secede from the kray, but matters appear to be heading that way. Documentation on violation of the electoral law by the Taymir authorities has been sent to the kray prosecutor's office.

But Diksonskiy Rayon, which is now experiencing very difficult times and is suffering a catastrophic loss of inhabitants, did participate in the election of the governor, clearly because, unlike the other higher authorities, the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet Inner Soviet alone allocated the Arctic settlement credit of 45 million rubles [R] to meet its urgent vital needs and set up a commission to study its problems.

As for the Norilsk industrial region, which for the time being retains its own extraterritorial status, there was a token presence by the population there in the gubernatorial elections. Only 9 percent of voters turned out in the first round, while the turnout in the runoff was only a little higher (54 percent of Norilsk voters took part in the referendum)—which also indicates the separatist mood of the people of the Norilsk region.

Valeriy Zubov, the first governor elected by the population of the kray, is a 40-year-old doctor of economic sciences who was dean of Krasnoyarsk University's Economics Department and worked for some time as deputy director of the Krasnoyarsk Universal Commodity and Stock Exchange in charge of transactions with securities. He was appointed deputy head of the kray administration one year ago, heading the main economics administration, and for the last ten weeks has discharged the duties of governor.

He is an active supporter of a liberal market economy and sensible reforms (his opponents described him as a Yeltsinite and Gaydarite during the election campaign).

People are pinning their hopes for a better future on a governor elected by the people who has no nomenklatura record, definitely showing by the results of the vote that they want no return to the past.

Caucasians, Cossacks Agree To 'Assist Peaceful Path'

PM0405105193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Agreement Between the Confederation of Caucasian Peoples and South Russian Cossacks"]

[Text] A meeting between elected rperesentatives of the Chechen and Ingush Republics, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachayevo-Cherkesia, Adygea, Abkhazia, and cossacks from Russia's southern regions held 28 April in Stavropol ended with the signing of an agreement between the Confederation of Caucasian Peoples and the South Russian Cossacks on principles of cooperation and mutual assistance. Confederation and cossack representatives agreed that they will not allow the use or threat of force in the resolution of vexed questions, including territorial issues, and will assist the peaceful path of negotiations and consultations, the settlement of regional conflicts, and the elimination of centers of ethnic and social tension on the basis of respect for peoples' sovereignty and right to self-determination.

Ingush President Demands Mediatory Action From Moscow

LD0305121693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1140 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz May 3 TASS—The situation in the area of a state of emergency, introduced in North Ossetia and Ingushetia and controlled by Russian peace-keeping forces, remains tense. The headquarters of the interior administration reported that there were no skirmishes and local armed clashes on ethnic grounds over the past twenty four hours.

However, the criminal situation in the area remains tense: over 17 crimes and accidents were reported, 14 people were detained for violating administrative rules and over 3,000 cars were searched.

Major-General Aleksandr Khodov, secretary of the North Ossetian Security Council, gives the following reasons why the situation in the area remains tense: there has been no exchange of hostages in the area of the armed conflict for five months; local residents possess a great number of firearms and ammunition; scattered criminal gangs are operating in regions bordering on Ingushetia, seeking to distabilise the situation.

At present, the search for 316 missing people is being carried out: a total of 267 hostages and other missing people in Ingushetia, and 49 people—in North Ossetia.

Making a forecast for further developments in the conflict area, Khodov believes that tension in the region will remain, since a major problem of the return of refugees to native places is not being resolved. In order to ensure the safety of local residents it is necessary to have better organised contacts between local administrations and Russian peace-keeping forces called upon to help the temporary administration to find ways out of the difficult situation, Khodov said.

According to officials of the negotiating centre of the temporary administration, its representatives continue to coordinate a plan of joint actions with the Ossetian and Ingush sides to find documents confirming residential permits of refugees and forcibly resettled people and that they had not been involved in crimes committed during an armed conflict in the Prigorodny region.

A package of documents is being prepared to be discussed at a second session of a mixed commission on the problems of refugees and forcibly resettled people, which will be held in the city of Terek (Kabardino-Balkaria).

Ingush President Ruslan Aushev has sent a letter to Russian President Boris Yeltsin expressing his concern over a delay in the solution of the refugee problem, ITAR-TASS learned from the press-service of the temporary administration.

The Ingush president says in his letter that "in order to thoroughly study the situation in the Ingush Republic and around it, take urgent measures to fulfil resolutions, decisions, decrees by the leadership and Russian laws, resolve the refugee problem and avert a new interethnic conflict while the situation is under control, I demand that one of first leaders of the Russian Federation immediately arrive in Ingushetia."

Former Communist Activist Elected Smolensk Governor

PM3004180793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 2

[Correspondent Viktor Artemenko report: "Fateyev Unsuitable. Glushenkov Elected"]

[Text] Smolensk—Elections for the head of the oblast administration have been held in the Smolensk area. The electoral commission registered 15 candidates, and eight of the contenders pulled out on the eve of the vote. Anatoliy Glushenkov, director of the Smolensk refrigerator plant, was the winner.

The new governor is an experienced economic manager and a native of Smolensk who has worked as a joiner, driver, mechanic, and diamond cutter. He graduated from Leningrad Aviation Instrument Manufacturing Institute, following which he worked as a foreman, production engineer, and was then elected secretary of the plant party committee and chairman of the rayon soviet executive committee. Former Governor V. Fateyev was also among the candidates for the job of head of administration. Things did not work out in the administration he headed—under Fateyev's leadership the oblast was ruined and impoverished. This is why the people in the Smolensk area decisively refused to place their trust in Fateyev and showed their preference for the representative of the opposition forces, the former activist from the communist ranks.

Karelia Increases Exports, Cuts Foreign Trade Turnover

LD0305160693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1542 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Zlobin]

[Text] Petrozavodsk May 3 TASS—Direct exports from Karelia increased 3.3 times in 1992 as compared with 1991. At the same time the republic's foreign trade turnover decreased by 25 percent - clear evidence of the growing self-reliance of the enterprises in this northwestern region of Russia on the border with Finland.

The biggest shares in local exports belong to paper (45 percent), sawn timber 912 percent) and iron ore products 98 percent) [no opening parentheses, figures as received].

The Karellesprom join-stock company is the biggest exporter in the republic. Its share is two-thirds of the total export. But Karelian research centre economist Nikolay Gromtsev is worried because the stock-holders are motivated by selfish interests in exporting ever more coniferous timber from a republic which is suffering from its shortage. On the other hand, the republic has a lot of other timber, the export of which could easily be doubled but is reduced from year to year instead for no visible reasons.

TV Shows Pro-, Anti-Dudayev Rallies in Groznyy

LD0305193093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[By correspondent V. Kalinovskiy from Groznyy; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Confrontation, that is when the opponents stand facing each other, has taken on in Groznyy a tangible form of two rallies opposed to each other and going on for many hours, round the clock. The Constitutional Court of the Chechen Republic has made an attempt to separate the conflicting sides. It has made public its appeal to the president, suggesting that a cabinet of people's trust be formed by 15 May, in which members of parliament, representatives of local self-government bodies, religious leaders, coalition parties and movements, and public and trade union organizations would be directly taking part. The document also calls for holding a referendum in June, in order to hold early elections for power structures based on its results. The Constitutional Court has also called for imposing a six-month moratorium on processions, rallies, and strikes as a means of tackling political issues.

The appeal was published after President Dudayev announced that he is introducing presidential rule in the republic until the results of the early parliamentary elections scheduled by him for September became known.

The opposition rejects this solution. The opposition headquarters says that the president risks facing refusal on the part of administration heads of many populated areas to cooperate with the presidential power. The city assembly in Groznyy has already announced that only the decisions adopted by itself are to be observed in the city. A resolution to this effect was circulated after the signing of President Dudayev's decree on disbanding the city assembly of the republican capital, which is in opposition to the presidential power. [video shows both rallies in progress, with placards of one rally saying "No

to civil war" and "Dudayev—on your side are submachineguns, on ours, Allah and the truth"; placards of the other rally say "We are for presidential rule" and "Dzokhar, we are with you"]

Company Pulls Out of Komi Venture, Retains Interest

PM0405091793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By Ye. Kuznetsov and N. Bogdanov from Syktyvkar; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] One of the world's largest oil companies, France's Total, has officially informed the Komi authorities that it is terminating its contract with the Ukhtaneftegazgeologiya state enterprise. Business relations have been broken off because of the latest increase in profits taxes at the Russian deputation's instigation. This tax amounted to 94 percent for Total. The French also said that the oil stocks at the field proposed for joint exploration had been overestimated by the Komi Republic and were in fact less than half of the suggested size. Moreover, it turned out that because of the structure of the shelf planned for development the costs would be three to four times more than envisaged in the preliminary estimates. As a result of the termination of the contract on the abortive oil project the Komi side owes the French over $17 million. However, Total has announced that it will not demand reimbursement for supplying 60 km of pipes for the main pipeline, so only just over half of the money owed is to be returned. The experts attribute this gesture to the fact that the French have thus kept their interests in Komi—interests that are to be realized at a more promising field that does not require money spent on infrastructure development.

Moscow Deputies Demand Upholding Constitution

PM0405112493 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Statement issued by meeting of Moscow City Soviet deputies: "No One Has Repealed the Constitution Yet"]

[Text] A meeting of Moscow City Soviet deputies has disseminated through the mass media a statement signed by Yu. Sedykh-Bondarenko, deputy chairman of Moscow City Soviet. It says:

On 1 May 1993, on Moscow City's Leninskiy Prospekt, a clash occurred between participants in a May Day festive demonstration and a special-purpose militia detachment [OMON].

This was possible as a result of the position of the Russian Federation president and the mayor of Moscow City, who stubbornly refuse to recognize the existing Russian Constitution, Article 49 of which says: "Citizens of the Russian Federation are entitled to assemble peacefully and without arms and to hold rallies, street marches, and demonstrations on condition that the authorities are notified in advance." Russia's Fundamental Law does not give anyone the right to permit or ban the holding of such events, still less to use force against peaceful and unarmed inhabitants of the city.

In the political dramas being played out in Russia, organizing and exploiting street disturbances in order to strengthen a regime of personal power is becoming a common phenomenon—cheap and effective. The idea is being persistently and methodically instilled into the public mind that the regime's political opponents are irresponsible people with criminal tendencies, with whom a strong executive should deal only in the language of OMON batons and preferably in the conditions of "special rule," ideally presidential rule. Hence the remarkable unanimity of the mass media, which have more than 70 years' experience of portraying the monster of political opposition—first deviationists, then dissidents, then Yeltsinists, and now red-browns.

We are convinced that the capital city's OMON should concentrate on combating the criminal reign of terror that has swept through Moscow and protecting Muscovites from rampant criminal groupings. The OMON cannot and must not be an instrument of political struggle between the authorities and the opposition or between rival political groups.

The Moscow militia, which prevented clashes between demonstrators and the OMON, deserves gratitude.

We call on the opposing political forces to observe law and order and show restraint and calm. Neither economic, nor political, nor ethnic problems have yet been able to push Russia into a new civil war. We believe that the main obstacle to those with an interest in such a war is the fact that Russia still has laws and still has a Constitution to protect us against the fate that has already befallen Yugoslavia, Georgia, and Tajikistan.

It is therefore extremely disturbing that the political ambition of those whom we have charged with executing these laws should prove stronger than their respect for the law or their common sense.

Regional Heads Said Supporting Draft Constitution

MK0405131093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 May 93 p 9

[N. S. report: "Federation's Subjects on New Constitution. Heads of Administrations Support President's Draft"]

[Text] Immediately after the publication of the draft new constitution, presented by the president to the heads of Russian republics and administrations 29 April, an agitation campaign in favor of the president's draft began in the regions. Literally the day after meeting Boris Yeltsin, most heads of administrations expressed their positive reaction toward the draft in local mass media. On the

other hand, many 1 May rallies and demonstrations in Russian cities saw the appearance of a new slogan: "For a Soviet Constitution." The "war of the drafts" can be considered to have started.

Practically all the heads of local administrations who have expressed their reaction toward the president's draft constitution during the past weekend are supporting it unconditionally, but without excluding the possibility of "some finalizations." True, the essence of these finalizations is not being revealed at the moment. The only exception in this sense is Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast Governor Boris Nemtsov (well known as an adherent of free thinking), who believes that the constitution must without fail include a section on impeachment of the president. The actual idea of creating a presidential form of rule in Russia is not at present being disputed by a single regional leader, as is the case with the proposal to form a Constitutional Assembly from representatives of the Federation's subjects in order to adopt a new Basic Law.

The "constitutional" presidential campaign is being conducted not only by heads of the local executive branch. On 30 April the St. Petersburg City Soviet, "on the basis of the poll held 25 April," adopted a decision to put forward a legislative initiative—for the new constitution to be adopted by a Constitutional Assembly and for it to be subsequently ratified by the Federation's subjects. It is not yet clear, however, how Yeltsin will react to this proposal: On one hand it is nice that even representatives of the "opposing side" are refusing the Congress the right to adopt the new constitution, but on the other hand the idea of its being subsequently ratified by the Federation's subjects is not too acceptable to the president—there is a serious danger that, like during the signing of the Federation Treaty, there will be some people who wish to "sign" the constitution with provisos.

Observers believe that the cohesion between the heads of regions in assessing the president's draft constitution will make it possible to conduct fairly quickly its finalization process, whose completion is preliminarily scheduled for the end of May to the end of June.

International Affairs

Cabinet Invalidates Commission for Nuclear Talks With Russia

LD0305113793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1000 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] The Ukraine Cabinet of Ministers has invalidated the instruction of 16 November 1992 on forming a government commission for holding negotiations with the Russian Federation on issues of the elimination of strategic missile warheads. This decision takes account of the accord between the Ukrainian president and the Russian president on transferring negotiations on issues of the elimination strategic missile warheads to the level of prime ministers of these states.

This was reported by the Ukraine Cabinet of Ministers' press service.

Kravchuk Discusses Nuclear Weapons, Russian Relations

AU0405150793 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 May 93 p 3

[Interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by "AN-Panorama"; place and date not given: "Exclusive Interview with President Kravchuk—We Will Not Be A Nuclear Power"]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk is one of those politicians who also held an important position in the past regime. Our correspondent interviewed Leonid Kravchuk, who became president after being first secretary of the Communist Party and asked him mainly about the current state of Ukrainian-Russian relations.

[PESTI HIRLAP] You spent long years in the higher political echelons of the Soviet Federation, so you are an experienced politician. What do you predict about Russia?

[Kravchuk] Spiritually and mentally, the Russians are basing their opinions on the fact that they have never been in a subordinate position. This is why they fear the independence of Ukraine, Belarus, or even Tatarstan. A state should be built cleverly, and we must not force obsolete ideologies upon the population. When I first visited the United States and met with my compatriots living there, many of them were crying from happiness that finally they have a homeland. A nation that did not experience such feelings cannot understand this. Our history and geography foreordained us to live in friendship with Russia. The two Slavic peoples should be ashamed if they are unable to understand this. On the other hand, the Russians should regard me as their partner, and not as a person to whom they can give orders.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Do you feel that this is the way you are treated?

[Kravchuk] Yes, precisely so, for example, when they address me regarding the nuclear weapons, although they are aware of the fact that we would never be able to use these weapons, because the flight coordinates and the built-in commands are in Moscow. We do not want a change in policy, and we do not want to become a nuclear power. Russia would like Ukraine to agree that these weapons belong to Russia. These weapons belong to the CIS! If we declare that these weapons belong to Russia, the 43rd Army will no longer be a CIS army but a Russian army. This would mean the presence of occupying forces on the territory of Ukraine. A law became valid in Ukraine according to which everything that can be found on the territory of Ukraine is the property of Ukraine. Fulfilling the Russian demand would necessitate the modification of this law. Unfortunately, some Russian politicians aim at discrediting Ukraine in the eyes of the world.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Let us speak about another "painful point," the Black Sea Fleet.

[Kravchuk] When we signed the agreement in Yalta, we clearly formulated there that the Black Sea Fleet would be under the jurisdiction of the two presidents, and not in the jurisdiction of the Russian and Ukrainian Defense Ministries. Today, this fleet is commanded by the Russian Defense Ministry, and Ukraine carries all the financial burdens involved!

Kravchuk Holds Meeting With German Businessmen

LD3004200293 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1117 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] A program of tanker fleet building has been drawn up in Ukraine. A number of German firms will take part in its implementation. In connection with this, an authoritative delegation of German entrepreneurs has visited Ukraine, with the president of the concern Bremer-Vulkan AG, Friedrich Hennemann, at the head of the delegation.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk received the guests on 29 April. A business-like and friendly conversation was held. In the course of the conversation, various aspects of joint work were discussed.

The Ukrainian president stressed that, apart from tanker fleet building, the state program would also include the construction of terminals, and the modernization of ports and the shipping company itself. He expressed certainty that firms from other countries would also participate in the implementation of the program.

In the course of the conversation, the opinion was expressed that the Federal Bank of Germany should take part in the financing of programs of such a large scale.

A considerable part of the conversation was held behind closed doors. Following the meeting, however, Friedrich

Hennemann and the chief executive of the Black Sea shipping company, Pavel Kudyukin, answered questions from journalists.

The head of the German delegation noted that a memorandum was signed by the shipping company and some of the German firms on 10th April. It defined conditions for joint work and was the first step towards the implementation of the program. It is very important to us that Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has shown great interest in this program and expressed his support for us, he said. For this we are grateful to him. It was also very important for us to have learned from the president, that he expected a visit of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Ukraine at the beginning of June. The president by all means will tell the chancellor about today's meeting.

Pavel Kudyukin told journalists that over 40 ships would be built in accordance with the program. Part of them will be built at Ukrainian wharfs, and part in Germany. The first tanker will soon be completed. The gross tonnage of the tanker fleet will be 3 million tonnes, with that of tankers to be built in Ukraine 1.7 million tonnes. Greek and Norwegian firms will also take part in the implementation of the program. There are some interesting proposals made by the United States.

Both sides are optimistic about putting this program into practice, in the opinion of Friedrich Hennemann. First and foremost, this is because good-quality preparatory work has been done, and reliable finance has been arranged. Most important is the fact that there is support at the government level.

National Affairs

Commission To Submit New Constitution Draft to Parliament

LD0305173693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] The Constitutional Commission has approved the draft of Ukraine's new fundamental law in its entirety, at its regular meeting on 3 May. The document will be submitted for consideration by Ukraine's Supreme Council after the introduction of proposals and comments expressed by members of the Constitutional Commission. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk chaired the meeting. Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch took part in the meeting of the commission.

Debates Process of Adopting Constitution

LD0305195293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A parliamentary commission responsible for drawing up of a new Ukrainian constitution held a routine session in Kiev today. It was expected that the text of the main law would be approved and then submitted to the Supreme Soviet for examination.

[Correspondent Vladimir Lyaskalo] The commission's working group spent one and a half years on the draft, a nationwide discussion was held, thousands and thousands of proposals and remarks were taken into account, and some foreign experts assessed it positively. However, opening the session, President Kravchuk, the chairman of the Constitutional Commission, suddenly proposed that this new constitution should not be adopted, and the issue should not be raised at all at present. He said that life and political experience are suggesting that the present composition of the Ukrainian parliament will never ever adopt such a constitution.

Most probably, even a special constitutional assembly will not be able to adopt it either. In this case, Kravchuk continued, let the parliament adopt two or three laws as a foundation—a law on power or a law on elections, for example. Then we will hold elections, and only after that will we return to the issue of the constitution.

Naturally, this prompted a discussion. In the end, those present agreed that the Ukrainian parliamentarians should not be deprived of such a prestigious right as the adoption of the new constitution. Prior to this, the working group was advised to work together with those who submitted proposals in order to bring to a minimum the differences between the proposed variations of the articles.

Morozov: State Must Care for Army, Not Businessmen

LD0305194293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1924 GMT 3 May 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov for TASS]

[Text] Kiev May 3 TASS—Ukrainian Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov called on his subordinates to refrain from participation in the Congress of Army Servicemen and Business People of Ukraine.

According to the press office of the Ukrainian Defence Ministry, the problems on the agenda of the congress, including social and legal protection of servicemen, the drawing up of a program of housing building for servicemen, are placed by law within the competence of the government and must be decided on the state level. Relevant state authorities are already working to ensure social protection of servicemen in accordance with instructions of the president. The congress does not have the right to decide these questions, the telegram says.

The holding of this congress will only result in considerable financial spending and distract many officers from their immediate duties.

Belarus

French Team Arrives To Monitor Destruction of MiG-27's

WS0405081993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] A NATO military inspection team composed of French airmen has arrived in Belarus to monitor the destruction of high-tech MiG-27 fighter planes under the provisions of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. These are the same aircraft whose acrobatic maneuvers evoked the admiration of the French during recent airshows at Le Bourges near Paris. The French team, nine men strong, arrived at the Minsk-2 airport via a direct route from Paris. The Inspection Act determines the exact date of the destruction of the first 10 warplanes. The document, signed by Gorbachev, is strictly observed by Belarus.

Planes Said 'Burden' to Taxpayers

LD0305161393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1553 GMT 3 May 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Leonid Tratsevsky for TASS]

[Text] Minsk May 3 TASS—A nine-strong group of French military inspectors arrived in Minsk to witness and document the scrapping of the first batch of ten combat planes MIG-27 at the Lesnaya airbase near the city of Baranovichi.

Belarus is eliminating these planes in accordance with the European conventional arms treaty.

Major-General Viktor Vakar, head of the Belarusian National Control and Inspection Agency, told BELINFORM that the treaty- stipulated expensive procedure of eliminating the planes and other military equipment "inherited" by the republic from the former Soviet Armed Forces is a burden Belarusian tax-payers have to bear. Nonetheless, the republic is fulfilling the provisions of the treaty signed by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Belarusian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other authorities are now looking for new approaches to the fulfillment of the conventional arms treaty to lessen the burden.

Council of Europe's Lalumiere Meets Kravchenko, Shushkevich

LD0305201293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, arrived in Belarus today on an official visit. The Council of Europe, an international intergovernmental organization, unites about 30 countries. During talks with Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko and Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, Madame Lalumiere was interested whether Belarus is ready to join the Council in the context of the political and economic guidelines of the republic. First and foremost, Catherine Lalumiere said, this includes a democratic constitution, free elections, and other laws which attribute paramount importance to the protection of human rights.

Ends Visit

LD0405101493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe, has completed an official visit to Minsk where she discussed the possibility of Belarus joining the Council of Europe, RIA reports. At a news conference in Minsk, Lalumiere noted that the republic has not quite managed to free itself from the burden of old ideology, although over the past two years it has achieved much in way of democratization. She thinks that in order to become a member of the Council of Europe it is not enough just to have a prevailing tendency for renewal. One should also continue democratic reforms, like adopting a new constitution and holding free multiparty elections.

Kebich Receives Chernomyrdin Apology for PRAVDA Article

WS3004131693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has received a letter from the Russian Government leader Viktor Chernomyrdin. The letter reads: "I fully share your bewilderment with regard to the 16 February PRAVDA article 'Vyacheslav Kebich's Mir Manifesto.' I am sure that your attitude toward Russia and its leadership has nothing in common with the conclusions made in this publication. We have been viewing with approval the independent political course pursued by Belarus, and we highly assess your personal efforts directed at the strengthening of friendly Russian- Belarusian relations. Cooperation between our states and our peoples has a history which is a couple of centuries old. It cannot be damaged by any kind of conjuncture changes. I want once again to express my firm belief, that in this historic period, both Russia and Belarus will closely cooperate in the spirit of friendship, good-neighborly relations, and mutual understanding."

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Discusses Military Issues

LD0305223893 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1600 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] As has already been reported President Nursultan Nazarbayev has visited a motor-rifle division. He made a speech to the officers, warrant officers, NCO's, and soldiers in the garrison officers club.

On 7 May, the head of state said, our armed forces will celebrate the first anniversary of their existence. Up to the last moment Kazakhstan defended the idea of unified, and subsequently, joint armed forces of the Commonwealth. It is not by chance that it was one of the last among the states of the former USSR to start the creation of its own army. Even today the leadership of the republic is quite sure that the security of each sovereign state will be more safely maintained under the collective defense system of the CIS states.

An independent defense construction is a most difficult process, which demands that absolutely everything should be considered. There is such an important aspect here as the geopolitical one. Kazakhstan occupies a special position in Eurasia, linking the two continents. Under these conditions, we should very carefully weigh all the political steps and decisions in the military sphere which should to no extent disrupt stability in the region.

In general the first and the most difficult stage in the creation of our armed forces has been covered by us. They have received national status and become an important inseparable part of the sovereignty of the republic, enshrined by its constitution. A package of laws on the military issues, adopted by the Supreme Kenges made it possible in a legislative way to formulate the basic principles of the army's creation, military service, and status of the military, and the guarantees for their social support and pension provision.

We, the president emphasized, firmly hold a view which is aimed at the consolidation and integration of the CIS states. This is a position of common sense, which presupposes a sensible compromise in tackling the issues of collective security, stabilizing the economy, and preserving human rights, etc.

The states of the CIS expect a lot from economic support coming from abroad, and UN and CSCE peacemaking efforts in resolving conflict situations in the CIS. Of course, you can put your trust in outside help and you don't have to refuse it, but it is important for us ourselves to take concerted steps to improve the situation in the CIS economy and resolve the conflicts in different regions of the former CIS.

Kazakhstan has already put forward proposals in this direction. In particular we are talking about setting up in Almaty a center for preventive diplomacy, under UN auspices, and we have made a proposal to hold a conference on confidence building measures in Asia. It should be a goal of such a meeting to set up a mechanism for strengthening peace not only in the Asiatic but in the other regions of the Commonwealth. With this goal in mind, it will be useful to introduce on a constant basis, in the relations between the states of the CIS, consultations at the level of the relevant ministries, departments, public organizations and movements, as a universal tool for solving various kinds of disputes and conflicts.

Within the field of vision of the leadership of the republic, Nursultan Nazarbayev went on, are constantly located the urgent problems of social support for the military and the members of their families. Thus from 1 February of the current year official wages were increased by a factor of 2.2, and salaries were doubled for military ranks.

It will be a mistake to think that success or failure in military construction and tackling the problems of social support for the military depend only on the republican bodies. It also depend on the local authorities, since they also take full responsiblity for the situation in defense and security. The constitution and the laws of Kazakhstan guarantee them major rights and wide powers in the spheres of accumulating and improving mobilization resources and capacities, and providing the troops with food and other material- technical resources. The military for their part should render constant support to the local bodies of power.

One of the most difficult social problems was and is the housing problem. I, the president recalled, have signed a decree on providing all the military with housing. However the break up of the economic links, and chronic disruptions in the construction materials supplies have badly affected its fulfillment. Especially difficult is the situation in your garrison, which is located in harsh climatic conditions. The government and the heads of the local oblast and rayon administrations will do all that is needed to improve the existing situation. Otherwise, those who separate themselves from the needs of the army will be made answerable.

The reduction to a minimum of the possiblity of universal nuclear war made a lot of us psychologically self-complacent, though the existing realities do not give any foundations for this. To maintain an efficient system of security of the Commonwealth, ensuring both collective and individual defense, declared the head of state, it is important in particular to observe the military agreements which have been adopted within the framework of the CIS, to preserve the military and strategic balance, based on the common strategic nuclear forces and airspace defense of the Commonwealth states, and to maintain the unified system of training military personnel and the principles of manning the armed forces on agreed and mutually beneficial terms.

In many respects these tasks are expected to be solved on the basis of a treaty on military cooperation between Russia and Kazakhstan, which is now at the stage of elaboration.

Now the republic is experiencing a definite shortage in military specialists. With the aim of replenishing the armed forces with them, we will carry on training youth in the military educational establishments of the CIS and foreign countries, and we will continue with upgrading the training in our colleges and at the military chairs of the civil institutes. It is especially important to implement a comprehensive, thoughtfully developed system of training the young people prior to their conscription.

Describing the real situation in military discipline in the units and detachments of the Kazakhstan armed forces, the president especially emphazised the inadmissability of the still practiced absence without leave by soldiers and sergeants. Taking into account the particular danger that desertion presents, the leadership of the republic established tough control over the progress in the fulfillment of the undertakings aimed at its elimination. Direct instructions on this have been given in the resolution "On raising responsiblities of the officials of the bodies of state management for discipline, public order, and security."

Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed confidence that the divisional personnel as well as all the soldiers of the armed forces of the country will properly fulfill the responsible duties which are placed on them in the reliable defense of sovereign Kazakhstan, maintaining its territorial integrity, and he wished them success in fulfilling hard but honorable military service.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev No Longer To Head Government

LD0305135993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1336 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek May 3 TASS—President Askar Akayev of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan will no longer act as the head of the republic's government. The parliament of Kyrgyzstan earlier today voted in favour of vesting the powers of the head of government in Prime Minister Tursunbek Chyngyshev.

Republic To Introduce Own Currency

LD0305135593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1313 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek, May 3 (TASS)—Kyrgyzstan is to switch to its own currency, the Soma, the republic's parliament decided by a majority today.

The president and the government believe that separation from the ruble zone will save the republic's economy by cutting the inflation rate to fourteen per cent in the third quarter of this year and to four per cent in December.

Kyrgyzstan now has its national guard, its own national language and its own national currency.

Tajikistan

Afghan Mojahedin Shoot Down Su-24 With Stinger Missile

LD0405041293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0000 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] According to a statement from the Tajik Defense Ministry on Monday [3 May], Afghan mojahedin, together with armed fighters of the anti-government opposition, drove a 3-5 kilometer wedge into the territory of Tajikistan for the purpose of creating a bridgehead near the populated locations of (Pavar), Shakh, and (Chukh).

Tajikistan's Government troops, together with Russian military formations, have conducted operations to liberate the occupied territory. During the operation, an Su-24 aircraft of Tajikistan's Government troops was shot down by a U.S.-made Stinger missile. The aircraft's crew is alive and has been evacuated from the location where it came down.

Spokesman Comments

LD0405061793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0612 GMT 4 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—A military aircraft belonging to a troop unit of Tajikistan "was shot down 1.5 kilometres from the Tajik-Afghan border by a Stinger missile launched from the direction of Afghanistan by mojahedin and militants of the Islamic Revival Party", Serojedin Nasretdinov, first deputy plenipotentiary representative of the Republic of Tajikistan in Moscow, told ITAR-TASS late on Monday night [3 May].

Nasretdinov categorically denied reports circulated by some news media on Monday night that an Uzbek military aircraft had been shot down near the Tajik-Afghan border.

Referring to a telephone conversation with Major General Aleksandr Shishlyannikov, Tajik minister of defence, Nasretdinov said the pilots of the Stinger-hit aircraft—Serkov and Shubin—had bailed out and are now on the territory of Tajikistan, entering upon their duties.

Government Forces Continue Operations Against Opposition

LD0305085893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0848 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Dushanbe May 3 TASS—Tajik government forces jointly with Russian border guards continue operations to oust from the Tajik territory an armed group of the opposition numbering from 200 to 300 militants, who broke through the Tajik border from Afghanistan several days ago.

The command of Russian border guards stationed in Tajikistan reported that as a result of armed clashes, 50 border trespassers and 2 servicemen of the Tajik government forces were killed. No casualties were reported among Russian border guards.

Combat operations are taking place under complex conditions of mountain slopes, which were worsened by continuous rains and mountain torrents.

Surround Armed Group

LD0305141293 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] At least 30 agents of the Islamic Revival Party have been killed and a large part of an armed group which violated the state border of Tajikistan from Afghan territory up to the end of April, in the Shurabad section guarded by a Moscow border detachment, has been surrounded by government forces. The news was reported by KHOVAR, citing the command of the Russian Federation border troops in Tajikistan.

The report stresses that the group is facing a difficult situation, has no way to escape, and also cannot enter the [word indistinct] of Tajik territory. According to the command of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan, these opposition agents are supporters of Mullah Abdulgafar and Mullah Abdurrahim, who have received training in special guerrilla warfare camps on the territory of Afghanistan.

This large armed group, which is at present hiding in the [name indistinct] village has rejected a demand by the government forces to lay down their arms and surrended. The [name indistinct] village is about 2 km from the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border.

According to Tajik refugees returning from Afghanistan, nearly 70 sold-out elements of Afghan mujahedin are fighting alongside this armed anti-government group under field commanders Mawlawi Aziz, Mullah Gholam, and [name indistinct].

The government forces are taking every measure to eliminate the armed border violators.

Uzbekistan

President Views Outcome of Visit to Germany

LD3004195593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By correspondent Vladimir Kondratyev from Bonn; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The visit to Bonn by President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan is being viewed here as a good opportunity to regain Europe's lost influence on political and economic developments in the Muslim regions of the former Soviet Union. For Germany, the fact that 30,000 to 40,000 ethnic Germans live in Uzbekistan also plays a significant part, while for Uzbekistan it is very important to attract German capital and advanced technology to help develop its raw material resources.

Karimov recalled that in the last century it was German businessmen who were the most successful operators in what was then known as Turkestan, investing one million rubles in gold in the region. He asked why history should not repeat itself. At all levels, including the president and the chancellor, the Uzbek guest was assured of German interest in supporting Uzbekistan during the difficult period of its revival as a sovereign state.

Accords reflecting this interest were concluded at government level, and German firms are prepared to engage in large-scale projects. Siemens, for example, is even planning to lay a unique communications cable similar to that running under the Atlantic, to link Europe, Russia, Uzbekistan, China, and Japan. [video cuts to show Karimov speaking]

[Karimov] I must tell you bluntly that we have not come here to ask for credit or for any short-term aid. Our aim is to lay the foundation for stable, long-term cooperation. We can say with confidence that our visit has been a success.

Armenia

President's Envoy Questions Relevance of Karabakh Proposals

LD0305135693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] David Shakhnazaryan, the Armenian president's envoy at large, has said in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the proposals on settling the Karabakh conflict handed over today do not contain points relating to Armenia. In the view of the Armenian side, they concern only Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Shelling of Settlements, Troop Concentration Reported

NC0305194493 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] The border incidents shifted from Armenia's northern borders to the southern borders as of yesterday evening. A two- hour-long exchange of fire took place on the border near Agarak in Megrinskiy Rayon. The armed formations in Nakhichevan used tanks and armored cars. In reporting this, the Armenian Defense Ministry press service said that there were no casualties on the Armenian side.

The enemy forces, based in Mardakertskiy Rayon and in Azerbaijan's Kubatlinskiy and Fizulinskiy rayons, opened fierce artillery fire on the night of 2-3 May on the border villages in Gadrutskiy Rayon in Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and in Gorisskiy Rayon of Armenia, on Metsshen in Mardakertskiy Rayon, as well as on Lachin humanitarian corridor. The enemy used tanks and Grad launchers. According to the preliminary reports received by ARMENPRES from NKR self-defense forces headquarters, there are casualties. In addition, large concentration of Azerbaijani troops and movement of military hardware is being observed in Kubatlinskiy and Fizulinskiy Rayons.

Defense Ministry: Azerbaijani Forces Shell Ararat Villages

LD0405123993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1212 GMT 4 May 93

[By ARMENPRESS correspondent, for TASS]

[Text] Yerevan May 4 TASS—The Armenian district centre of Noyemberyan and Sevakavan village in Ararat district were shelled on Tuesday from six a.m., according to the Armenian Defence Ministry. An Azerbaijani army unit crossed the border in Noyemberyan district on Monday night but had to withdraw upon encountering a rebuff.

According to the headquarters of the self-defence forces of Nagorno-Karabakh, the situation there is calm. But, the sources say, reinforcements continue to arrive at Azerbaijani army units stationed in Kybatly district and to the north of the Mrov mountain range.

President Meets British Archbishop, Discusses Situation

NC0305203993 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan today received the Archbishop and Primate of All England George Carey, his wife, and a group of clergy and civilians who were accompanying him.

In conveying his and British Prime Minister John Major's deepest respects to the Armenian president, Archbishop Carey spoke on the impressions he gathered during his two-day stay in Armenia, and stressed that his concept of the Armenians was complemented and he now regards them as a dignified nation full of resolve.

Archbishop Carey then asked the Armenian president a number of questions. These questions touched upon the socio-political situation in Armenia and in the region, the spiritual issues, and relation between the church and the people in Armenia.

In giving detailed replies to the guests' inquiries, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan particularly dwelled on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. In speaking about the causes of the conflict, he cited historic facts to argue why the people of Karabakh are now selflessly defending their natural right to live and exist on the lands of their ancestors.

In blaming Azerbaijan, which with Turkey's support wants to solve the problem only with the use of arms, the Armenian president also found the efforts of the international community on this problem insufficient. He underlined that as long as the international community cannot provide real security guarantees to the population of Nagorno-Karabakh, it has no right to demand that people to lay down their arms. As such, the Armenian president noted, we have expectations from you so that under the influence of your person and church the international community could display a more serious approach towards this problem.

A brief private meeting then took place between the archbishop and the president at the request of the guest.

Vazgen I, the Catholicos of All the Armenians; Ludvik Khachatryan, chairman of the State Council for Religious Affairs; Armenian Ambassador to Great Britain Armen Sargisyan; and prelates of the Armenian Apostolic Church took part in the meeting.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Briefs Press on Military Operations, UN Resolution

NC0305195993 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] A traditional briefing was held today by the presidential apparatus for journalists. Arif Aliyev, head of the presidential press service, addressed the journalists about military operations on the front lines last week. He said that exchanges of fire have significantly decreased, despite the fact that tension continues to exist in the rayons on Armenia's border.

Arif Aliyev also outlined the position held by Azerbaijan's leaders on the UN Security Council's resolution. He recalled that the high-level resolution was the first of its kind on the problem and stressed that it described Armenia as a side involved in the dispute and pointed to Kelbadzhar's occupation. Aliyev asserted: Nevertheless, the French pressure [words indistinct] local Armenian forces. However, the UN Security Council has agreed that the use of force against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the regional countries will be unacceptable under international law.

Later, Aliyev said that he hoped that yet another important step will be taken on the matter.

The question of the changes effected among the republic's leading officials and the incidents in Gyandzha [words indistinct] were also discussed during the meeting. Later, Aliyev replied to the questions that were put to him by the journalists.

Praises 3-Way Karabakh Initiative

NC0405132493 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0931 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Baku, 4 May (ASSA-IRADA)—"The USA and Turkey will subscribe the initiative on settlement of Armenian Azerbaijan conflict, which was proposed by B. Yeltsin the Russian president" A. Aliyev, the chief of Presidential Press Service stated at the briefing, May 3. Undoubtedly, this fact should have positive effect on negotiation, because participation of such countries as the USA and Turkey will balance the arrangement of forces at these negotiations. Negotiation will be conducted within CSCE. Answering the question of ASSA-IRADA correspondent whether the date and mechanism of the fulfillment of the UN Security Council Resolution 822 will be discussed at these negotiations, A. Aliyev said: "May be they will." Then he stressed that these negotiations will start in the nearest future, possibly even this week.

Presidential Adviser Welcomes UN Resolution

NC0405133693 Baku TURAN in English 1124 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Baku, 4 May (TURAN)—The President of Azerbaijan Adviser on the International Matters Vafa Guluzade characterised the 822 CS [Security Council] of the UNO Resolution as a great victory of Azerbaijan diplomacy.

In his talk with TURAN correspondent V. Guluzade noted that as the republics international relations broadened and the international blockade around Azerbaijan has run, Armenia and its sponsors gets more difficult to mislead the world public.

According to V. Guluzade the matter is not that Azerbaijan needs protection and defence of some countries and international association, Azerbaijan just waits for the statement of the real situation.

V. Guluzade pointed that in the resolution of CS of the UNO Armenia for the first time mentioned as the side drawn up into this conflict and the demand about immediate withdrawing of all the occupation forces from the captured regions of Azerbaijan impose on Armenia concrete responsibility. According to his words, if Armenia don't withdraw its forces from Azerbaijan, it will have to do it under the pressure of the international association.

The Presidents Adviser V. Guluzade pointed that the CS of the UNO reaffirmed belonging of the Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan and inadmissibility of the forcible changing of the borders of the republic. According to his opinion, further Armenian ignoration of these facts can lead to its full isolation in the world and will compel the international association to impose against Armenia appropriate sanctions, envisaged by the UNO Charter.

New Prime Minister Favors Renewed Relationship With Russia

MK0405130093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 13, 4 May 93 p 6 (Signed to Press 3 May)

[Mekhman Gafarly report: "Baku Replaces Premier and Changes Political Course]

[Text] The appointment of Panakh Guseynov as prime minister of Azerbaijan is viewed by local observers as the republic's reorienting itself toward Russia. The explanation is that the appointment came only after the meeting of the then former State Secretary Guseynov with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev behind closed doors. This was also confirmed by Guseynov's statement at a press conference that Baku would carefully revise its foreign policy. According to him, Azerbaijan is going to give preference to its relationship with Russia, which can to a large extent influence solutions to Azerbaijan's problems, including the Karabakh problem. Guseynov admits that today's republic leadership blundered in its foreign policy by betting on leading Western countries

and bypassing Moscow. Moscow's lost support has left Azerbaijan alone with its own problems.

Guseynov regards his appointment as a resolute step in the passage to a market-driven economy, and he is optimistic. Right after his appointment, he stated that Azerbaijan is going to embrace a free-market economy. A program of radical market-oriented reforms will be submitted in the coming days to the republic parliament's scrutiny. Panakh Guseynov, Azerbaijan's new 36-year-old premier, is a historian by profession, and has never studied economics.

Opposition spokesmen in the republic think that Guseynov's appointment to this post is attributed to the fact that, like in Russia, in Azerbaijan the post of state secretary was scrapped, and as a result, the most suitable move is to appoint him prime minister. The leaders of such influential parties as the Union of Democratic Intelligentsias of Azerbaijan, New Azerbaijan, and National Independence have spoken against Guseynov's appointment, thinking that in this manner the present leadership is burning all its bridges for compromise with the opposition.

In the meantime, 120 Azerbaijani people's deputies and Supreme Soviet members, disbanded in the wake of the 1992 "May revolution," have passed an address to the world public and the United Nations condemning the introduction of an emergency situation in Azerbaijan. Eighty percent of these deputies are former secretaries of rayon [Communist Party] committees. The address underlines that having introduced a state of emergency, the present regime of Azerbaijan is suppressing individual rights and civil freedoms. The text of the document sounds a call to condemn the actions of the Elchibey regime.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Military Situation

LD0305120093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 3 May 93

[Studio interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, head of state and parliament chairman, by unidentified announcer on 3 May—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Mr. Shevardnadze, last week you visited Sukhumi with the prime minister, but before your visit some events took place and probably we could start off with that. On Monday, Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani said that it was a big mistake to have prevented the army from acting in August and that today we are reaping the results of one politician's incorrect decision. The defense minister also stated that now that Samegrelo [stronghold of former president Gamsakhurdia] has joined this war—he means Kobalia's units joining the Georgian army—the Abkhazians will give up. It probably will be a turning point in the war. Also an unarmed entry into Tkvarcheli is expected. He also said that he would not obey the parliament and that, if need be, the people and the army should be asked.

At the parliament sitting on Tuesday, Tamaz Nadareishvili [chairman of the Abkhazian Defense Council] said that it is impossible to win this war peacefully. He also said that the Sukhumi population is demoralized by the lack of discipline in our troops and their inefficiency and that the mafia is operating there. He also said that you were given different, sometimes conflicting information from different sources in Sukhumi.

And, finally, in your speech on Tuesday you said you are ready to take responsibility for everything, and that the real truth would be revealed at a closed sitting of the parliament.

[Shevardnadze] Good morning. That is a very long question. I shall start off with Samegrelo. I think we should stop arguing about whether Samegrelo is participating in this war. Samegrelo has always participated in the war for Georgia's territorial integrity and will continue to do so. As for Kobalia's unit which entered Ochamchira, there are about 100 men there, that unit has already returned.

The apparent reason for this was the appearance of the traffic police in some regions of western Georgia, in Senaki and Khobi. I must say that the traffic police is a new formation whose purpose is to patrol the highways. They have already started operating on the section of the highway between Tbilisi and Tsiteli Khidi and between Tbilisi and Dmanisi.

Many bands have been operating on these highways and we must put an end to it. The traffic police also patrol the Tbilisi-Samtredia highway. Little by little, they will also take on patrolling the Tbilisi-Batumi, Tbilisi-Poti, and Tbilisi-Sukhumi highways.

Nothing extraordinary has happened and it is not a big tragedy if Ochamchira is one unit short. I would like to repeat that the people of Samegrelo are doing all they can to help us fight this war.

As for your next questions as to why the army was prevented from fighting and who gave the orders and which politician is to blame, excuse me, but I would not like to discuss it publicly. If there is anything to be discussed, then it is: Why was blood shed to begin with? Why did it ever happen? Probably, we made mistakes and we are at fault. Probably, some of us did not do what we should. But I think that these public discussions during wartime and throwing down the gauntlet will not give us any result at all. I think we must think before we say anything publicly. We must be wise in our speeches so as not to demoralize and upset our public which has had enough of a tense life.

Now, as for entering Tkvarcheli. This is a subject that military leaders should not speak out about, and especially at news conferences. As for saying that people and not the

parliament should be asked - such confrontation cannot be justified, as the parliament was elected by the people.

By the way, [Defense Minister] Tengiz Kitovani has contributed toward organizing the elections, and it is our duty to support the parliament irrespective of our attitude towards it. The parliament is carrying out a historical duty.

Why is the Georgian army unsuccessful? Its failures are not the results of any lack of information on my part. I have every information. Probably, I have far more information than is needed. The Georgian army is not all that unsuccessful. When we started to move our units they did not look like an army. Now, we have an army, well, more or less. It can carry out the decisions of the command. The disruption of the Sukhumi adventure proved it. This disruption was a very important event. Life will show us the rest.

I have no right to discuss on the radio or television our plans or ideas. I repeat, there are two ways of settling the conflict. The first one is a peaceful solution, and I support it. It can still be reached. And there is the other way - to fight to win, but it is a very difficult task and I shall be more specific later as to the reasons why it will be difficult.

As for my statement that I take the whole responsibility, I would like to tell my radio listeners that it is my tragedy in the full sense of the word. I cannot blame anybody else and I often take other people's blame on myself. But when I am doing this, I always know that sooner or later people will find out the truth. This is what I wanted to say. When I am talking about taking reponsibility, I am stressing my solidarity with all my colleagues. I do not want to divide responsibilities. If we work together and fight to save the country, then we must not reprimand each other but share the responsibility delegated to us by the people when they voted for us on 11 October and elected us as the parliament.

[Announcer] It must be mentioned that the parliament did not exist when the armed conflict started in Abkhazia, on 14 August. Then we had the State Council. There were different points of view then, and I remember you said that this war would be a long one and would take many lives and much blood would be shed. It seemed that nobody paid attention to it as there were so many other emotional statements made about this issue.

You stressed then that this war would not end easily for us and would be protracted.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, I knew it would be so. We must try now to finish this war as soon as possible.

[Announcer] Mr. Shevardnadze, now you mentioned as you did in Sukhumi, that the new factors have emerged for settling the conflict peacefully. Could you please specify what you meant by that - UN activity, a future change in Russia's stance, or Western involvement in this conflict? We know that the U.S. secretary of state is arriving in Moscow and will meet with Kozyrev to discuss the former Yugoslavia's conflict and meet with Yeltsin.

[Shevardnadze] I think that all the above-mentioned will work. We can see the participation of foreign countries in the Abkhazian crisis. The United States has become active and Security Council representatives will eventually come to Georgia. Their visit here is very important. I have talked about the Ukrainian factor, the importance of the Caucasian dialogue, but most of all, I am stressing that it is possible, very possible for Georgians and Abkhazians to negotiate.

The activity of the Salvation Committee of Abkhazia stands out very vividly. In Kutaisi I referred to Mr. Marshania [member of the Salvation Committee of Abkhazia], Mrs. Akba [member of the salvation Committee of Abkhazia], and many others, including Mrs. Ada Marshania and Konstantine Salia. They have their own program for settling the conflict. I watched the television program "The Square" [Kvadrat], in which Sergey Shamba participated. Many things are unacceptable, but there were some nuances which are quite normal and acceptable for the beginning of negotiations.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA recently published a long and interesting letter by Zurab Labakhua [pro-Abkhazian activist]. He tried to outline a platform for Georgian-Abkhazian dialogue. I must say that there were many acceptable offers there and negotiations can be started on that basis. So, there are many new factors which give us hope that the conflict will be ended soon.

[Announcer] You visited Sukhumi at a rather difficult time: Sukhumi is being bombed, our plane was shot down - this happened after you returned from Sukhumi. You made a statement that if it went on like this, Sukhumi would be bombed, the civilian population would be killed, you would agree with the demands of the military and a retaliatory bombing of Gudauta and Tkvarcheli would take place. What will be the results of such decision? What will the parliament do about the Russian troops and their immediate withdrawal from the conflict zone?

[Shevardnadze] We were very upset about the shooting down of the plane. I put it down to a lack of discipline. I am not a pilot or a paratrooper but I know the rule that a pilot must not go back to the location of an earlier assignment. That is what happened, they had an assignment to bomb certain positions, the positions from where Sukhumi was shelled. The pilot carried out his mission and then returned there, which he should not have done. Unfortunately, he became a casualty; the pilot is still alive but nobody knows whether he will survive.

As for the withdrawal of the Russian troops following the decree of the parliament on that issue and the possible participation of the Russian army in this conflict on the Abkhazian side, I must say that the withdrawal of the Russian army is very problematic. Our statement has

already been sent to the Russian leadership, which has familiarized itself with the statement already, but I cannot guarantee that an order will come tomorrow and the Russian army will be withdrawn from the conflict zone. We shall try to notify international organizations, address and the Security Council and the United Nations and European structures, but I reiterate that this issue will not be resolved and settled so easily.

As for my statement that I might not prevent the decision of the military to bomb Gudauta and Tkvarcheli. It was very difficult for me to make such a statement. I think that the Gudauta authorities have not yet realized what it means. It would be a calamity. Bombing Sukhumi was a calamity, but if we start massive bombing of Gudauta, then it will be a calamity 10 times over.

We never wanted to bomb any town and we still do not want to do it unless they force us to. If the Abkhazians are listening now, I want them to understand that it would be a real catastrophe, so I am asking them, demanding from them that they stop these reckless reactins and stop bombing Sukhumi and other populated areas. I know who is behind them, who is supplying them with combat materials and arms but, having said all that, Georgians and Abkhazians must show a special sense of responsibility when we are talking about the fate of the cities and people.

[Announcer] It is obvious who is interested in this conflict and, first of all, in combat actions, but I would like to remind you a speech by [deputy] Kartlos Kharebashvilu at a sitting of the parliament. He said that in Russia and other foreign countries, the representatives of military complexes were always against wars. Who do you think profits from the war in Georgia? I shall make my question more specific: Who in Georgia wants war?

[Shevardnadze] Who profits from this war in Georgia? Anyone who knows Georgian history will know that this is not the first and, probably not the last case. There have always been people, ambitious and avaricious, who would go to war for financial gain.

Of course, not everybody was or is like that, I am not generalizing. They did not care about the Georgian soil. They would go to war with pecuniary aims. I think we are dealing with nearly the same phenomenon now. The biggest danger for us is the danger from within. There is no stability in our country. A certain consolidation of our society and citizens did take place but, I must say that some alarming incidents are still happening, and they are not helping the Georgian army to raise its military standards. This is our tragedy, if I may say so, and we must overcome it somehow. Society must unite in the struggle for national interests.

[Announcer] Based on your answer, I would like to ask you a question going back to your speech in Kutaisi. Our television viewers will be able to see the program about your visit to Kutaisi. You arrived late last night from Kutaisi. As we were looking through the footage, I heard your remark that Georgia has the chance not only to be an independent country now but also to retain its independence. I am sorry that I cannot quote your speech accurately. You even said that David Agmashenebeli [13th Century Georgian ruler] could not guarantee independence, and the situation is different today in our country and in the world and there are other external factors too.

[Shevardnadze] Probably, this was the first time in the history of Georgia that we became independent, proclaimed our independence, and had the possibility to retain it, to build a truly independent country. Our children, grandchildren, and future generations must retain this independence. There are guarantees for this, for security, something that David Agmashenebeli and his descendants did not have in Georgia. Today, there are guarantees for it: the current laws, the laws of social development, for example, UN regulations, the decisions made by the European Security structures, and the readiness of different countries to support the people fighting for freedom. All that gives me the ground to say that if we manage to regulate our internal problems [passage indistinct].

Directive on Members of Russian Army Withdrawal Commission

AU0305184993 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 27 Apr 93 p 1

["Directive of the Head of the Georgian State"; place and date not given]

[Text] 1. To draw up and implement a schedule for the departure of Russian Federation Armed Forces from the territory of Georgia and adopt a mutually acceptable and coordinated decision, to create a bilateral mixed commission made up of the following officials on the Georgian side:

1. **Zurab Kervalishvili**, Georgian vice-premier,

2. **Nodar Natadze**, chairman of the Georgian parliamentary commission for defense and national security,

3. **Anatoliy Kamkamidze**, commander of the Georgian Armed Forces, first deputy minister of defense,

4. **Mikhail Gurgenidze**, Georgian minister of transport,

5. **David Salaridze**, Georgian first deputy minister of defense,

6. **Vladimir Chikovani**, deputy head of the group of consultants to the commander in chief of the Georgian Armed Forces,

7. **Pridon Injia**, Georgian minister of communications.

2. To inform Lieutenant General F. Reut, commander of the Group of Russian Forces in the Caucasus, of the composition of the Georgian side of the mixed commission.

[Signed] E. Shevardnadze

Shevardnadze Orders Creation of Abkhazian Defense Council

AU0305183393 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 29 Apr 93 p 1

["Order of the Head of the Georgian State on the Creation of the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia" issued in Tbilisi on 28 April]

[Text] 1. To create the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, composed of:

Geno Adamia—major general, commander of the 23rd Mechanized Brigade of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense 2nd Army Corps;

Guram Gabiskiria—mayor of Sukhumi;

David Gulua—colonel, minister of internal affairs of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia;

Yuriy Keshelava—major general, head of the Information and Intelligence Service of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia;

Lorik Marshania—first deputy chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers;

Tamaz Nadareishvili—chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia;

Ramaz Sichinava—first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia;

Zaur Uchadze—major general, commander of the 24th Mechanized Brigade of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense 2nd Army Corps;

Valeriy Kvaraia—major general, commander of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense 2nd Army Corps;

2. To appoint Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, as chairman of the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia.

3. To entrust Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, with submitting the statute on the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia for ratification.

[Signed] E. Shevardnadze, head of the Georgian state, commander in chief of the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces

[Dated] Tbilisi, 28 April 1993

Ardzinba Criticizes Georgians' 'Lack of Trust'

LD0305120793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 3 May 93

[Report by announcer Tatyana Khudobina from studio and correspondent K. Bzhaniya from Abkhazia]

[Text] [Khudobina] Chairman of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet Vladislav Ardzinba has been interviewed by journalists from Russia.

[Bzhaniya] Asked what is being done to achieve a political settlement to the Georgia-Abkhazia war following the well-known declaration by the two republics' leaders, Vladislav Ardzinba answered:

[Ardzinba] The Georgian parliament did indeed adopt an appeal to the people of Abkhazia on the 22 April, and the Abkhazian parliament immediately released a statement welcoming this and suggesting a meeting to discuss a procedure for a troop withdrawal from Abkhazian territory. However, this was immediately followed by an attack on Gudauta, in which a Russian woman was killed and a Russian officer wounded. Twenty-five civilians were also wounded, including 11 children from 5 to 14 years old. We are getting the impression that every time the Georgians talk of peace and of peace initiatives, this will be followed by the latest acceleration of military action. Hence, the lack of trust in this policy, which is aimed mainly at misleading public opinion.

[Bzhaniya] Regarding the Georgian parliament's demand that Russian troops be withdrawn from Abkhazia, the Abkhazian leader said:

[Ardzinba] The status of these troops should be discussed only by the legitimate authorities of Abkhazia. Demands for these troops to be withdrawn are quite clearly aimed at facilitating the destruction of Abkhazia's people, its civilian population.

Abkhaz Defense Council Statement on 'Retaliatory' Strikes

LD0305160193 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1422 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] The Abkhazian Defense Council issued a statement yesterday which says that despite repeated proposals by the Georgian leadership to stop the bloodshed in Abkhazia and to sit down at the negotiating table, and despite the recent statement by Georgian Head of State E. Shevardnadze, members of the Gudauta group, their Russian sponsors, and also mercenaries from the North Caucasus are continuing to step up military confrontation in the conflict zone and to launch bombing raids on Sukhumi. For this reason the Georgian Armed Forces stationed in Abkhazia were forced to launch a retaliatory strike on the city of Gudauta and other population centers located on territory controlled by the Abkhazian side. The main purpose of this actions was not to inflict a powerful strike which would have led to numerous casualties, but to warn the Gudauta rulers.

In connection with the above, the Defense Council declares that it is forced to take measures to increase the effectiveness of retaliatory bomb strikes against population centers controlled by the Abkhazian side and armed formations of the separatists. The entire responsibility for the tragic consequences of such a development lies with the Gudauta government and the military command of the tactical headquarters of Russian troops stationed in Gudauta.

Government Forces Return Fire After Sukhumi Shelled

LD0405074293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Several minutes ago we managed to get through to Sukhumi and learned that following yesterday's bombing last night was relatively quiet.

This is how events developed yesterday: the enemy bombed Sukhumi three times. At first, at 1300 the enemy opened tank fire from the side of Eshera toward the Shukura rayon. Several shells exploded in the Shukura rayon but no casualties were reported.

At about 1400, bombing of the town resumed. The enemy shelled the new district [of Sukhumi] where about twelve shells exploded. As a result of it, two were killed and eight wounded.

The third bombing started at 1800. The enemy used the so-called Grad rocket launchers and launched approximately thirty rockets at the town. Several rockets fell into the sea and the other exploded in the town center. About ten houses caught fire, forcing people to flee and causing considerable damage.

Georgian forces responded with retaliatory artillery fire on all the three occasions, forcing the enemy to stop shelling.

This information was supplied by Soso Margishvili yesterday.

UN Representatives Visit Sukhumi

LD0405101093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] A group of UN representatives is visiting Sukhumi. This group includes Per Kastrem, who is supervising the first action of rendering aid to the besieged town of Tkvarcheli; Pat Orlov, a representative of the UN Humanitarian Department; and Aleksandr Yakovenko, the consultant of the Embassy of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Georgia.

The cause of their visit to Sukhumi, according to the analytical and information center of Abkhazia, was the note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia to speed up solving the issue of rendering humanitarian aid and carrying out the evacuation of the population from the conflict zone and, in particular, from Tkvarcheli.

A principal agreement has been reached at the meeting of the government members, the deputies and the chairman of the defense council of Abkhazia and the Council of Ministers of Abkhazia, Tamaz Nadareishvili, to send a group of experts under the auspices of the United Nations, to Tkvarcheli to investigate the situation that came to be in the Tkvarcheli mines and render humanitarian aid.

First Group of Border Officers Graduates

AU0305183293 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[INPRINDA report under the rubric "According to Reports From Correspondents and Information Agencies": "Georgia Has Its First Border Guards"]

[Text] According to the press center of the Georgian Border Troops, on 26 April, on the order of Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Defense and National Security Council, supreme commander in chief, a group of students (20 persons) attending officer courses at the Main Directorate of the Republic of Georgia Border Troops, were given the rank of lieutenant. It should be pointed out that the graduates are the republic's first Georgian border troops. In this respect, a ceremony was held in honor of the graduates at the border training center. The young officers were congratulated by Major General Panteleymon Giorgadze, commander of the Main Directorate of Border Troops.

Estonia

Moscow Pressured To Remove Nuclear Reactors From Naval Base

LD0205214993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2022 GMT 2 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The authorities in Estonia have decided to set up police protection for a Russian Naval base 30 km from Tallinn in order to put pressure on Moscow to compel it to withdraw nuclear reactors from the base.

Retired U.S. Colonel To Head Defense Forces

LD3004125593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] The Estonian Army will be headed by Aleksandr Einseln, a retired American colonel. He has been invited to take up the post of commander of the republic's defense forces at the suggestion of Estonian President Lennart Meri. Einseln is 61 years old. He took part in the Korean and Vietnam wars. He has served in senior management structures in the U.S. Armed Forces.

A similar trend can also be seen in the Latvian Army. The post of deputy defense minister there is held by Valdis Pavlovskis, a Latvian of American origin.

Confirmed as Chief of Staff

LD0405100793 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 4 May 93

[Interview with newly confirmed Chief of Staff Aleksandr Einseln by station correspondent Gunnar Paal; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Beginning today Aleksandr Einseln is the Estonian defense forces' chief of staff.

[Paal] Eighty-two Riigikogu members voted today in favor of the nominated defense forces' chief of staff, with no votes against, and only one abstention. [passage omitted] Also today, problems were discussed which exist between yourself and the U.S. administration in connection with you taking up the lead in the defense forces of the Republic of Estonia.

[Einseln] Well, this is mainly a legal issue between me and the U.S.

[Paal] You have dual U.S. and Republic of Estonia citizenship.

[Einseln] Yes.

[Paal] How will this issue be resolved?

[Einseln] This issue does not need to be resolved. It is a legal issue, a judicial issue which is not to do only with me but to do with several others the same way [indistinct words]. [passage omitted]

Latvia

Gorbunovs Receives Ukrainian Defense Minister

LD0305125393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1100 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Latvian Supreme Council chairman, received today Ukrainian Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov. The most topical issues of bilateral political cooperation were broached at the meeting. The need to sign a friendship and cooperation agreement prepared as well as to step up the work of the diplomatic services of the two states was stressed.

The minister indicated Ukraine's readiness to continue to encourage officers of the Russian army called up from Ukraine to return home.

Concludes Friendship, Cooperation Accord

WS0405103193 Tallinn BNS in English 0803 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 03, BNS—Latvian Parliament Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs met with Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov in Riga Monday [3 May] on political issues of bilateral cooperation.

During the meeting, officials decided to conclude a friendship and cooperation agreement, as well as activate and strengthen diplomatic ties between Latvia and Ukraine, said Chairman's aide Karina Petersone.

Morozov pledged to promote repatriation of Ukrainian officers in the Russian army in Latvia.

U.S. Army Officers Visit Defense Ministry

LD0405103693 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] A group of U.S. Army officers visited the Defense Ministry this morning. They are visiting Latvia in order to get acquainted with the situation in the Latvian national defense forces and to consider the possibility of supplying Latvian military formations with various necessary items from U.S. military bases in Europe. Yesterday the U.S. military specialists met with the Command of the national defense headquarters.

Foreign Minister: Main Tasks Involve Opening Embassies

LD0305181793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs reported at a sitting of the Satversme [Constitution] parliamentary faction today on the work done by the Foreign Affairs Ministry this year. Speaking about current activities in the sphere of foreign policy, Georgs Andrejevs noted that the main task is the opening of embassies and representations of the Republic of Latvia, as well as the establishment of closer diplomatic contact

with individual western countries, such as the Netherlands, Belgium, and Austria.

The minister stated that a Latvian Embassy will soon be opened in Switzerland.

The Latvian People's Front parliamentary faction discussed at its sitting an issue concerning the possible resignation of Minister of Agriculture Dainis Gegeris, which was initiated by the Agriculture and Forestry Commission. This issue will be considered at a plenary sitting on 4 May.

Government Issues Temporary Permits to Russian Servicemen

PM0405091393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Irina Litvinova: "Temporary Residence Permit for Russian Military"]

[Text] Riga—A document which gave rise to a sharply negative reaction from the Russian leadership was nonetheless submitted 28 April for examination by the Latvian parliament. After several hours' debate it was adopted. Sixty-eight parliamentarians decided the fate of several tens of thousands of people.

Let me recall that it is a case of the decree which provides for the issue of temporary permits of residence in the republic for people connected in one way or another with the Russian army. This circle includes the wives and children (even those born in Latvia) and, the document says, "other relatives" of servicemen and those who have been demobilized on the republic's territory in the past three years. Lawyers have specified that under Latvian laws the concept of "other relatives" includes all blood relatives so that in the foreseeable future together with a retired major, for instance, his grandmother or niece living with him will also have to leave Latvia.

The actual report of the first discussion of the document gave rise to quite tough debate by correspondence between the leaders of the two states. Russian President B. Yeltsin stated that "the decree could affect the fate of tens of thousands of people who lived in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic on a legal basis and had its citizenship. The present Latvian authorities have arbitrarily deprived them of citizenship, breaking the commitments they had assumed stemming from the UN convention on ending statelessness and now intend to deprive that section of the republic's population of the right to free choice of place of residence, which is a basic human right."

Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, noted in an official statement which has been issued that "Russia has special interests in Latvia" and that is why it is so difficult to achieve the solution of various problems with it.

At the press conference held after the adoption of the decree State Minister Janis Dinevics (he heads the Latvian delegation at the talks with Russia) described B. Yeltsin's statement as hasty. he expressed the hope that the talks will be resumed.

Observers have different predictions for the further course of events and of the influence which the document will have on Latvian-Russian relations.

Economic Cooperation Accord Initialed With Romania

WS0305123693 Tallinn BNS in English 1508 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Riga, Apr 30, BNS—Latvian and Romanian delegations coordinated and initialed an interstate pact on commercial, economic and technological cooperation in Riga Thursday.

The cooperation is based on the most favored nation clause, spokespeople for the Latvian Foreign Trade Ministry told BNS. All accounting will be performed in freely convertible currencies or in other internationally recognized ways.

The initialed document also provides for reciprocal deliveries of goods.

The Romanian delegation left Latvia Thursday.

Lithuania

Government Discusses Recall of Ambassador to U.S.

WS0405102993 Tallinn BNS in English 0805 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 03, BNS—The Lithuanian government Monday [3 May] officially discussed the recall of Stasys Lozoraitis, ambassador to the United States, and will present its recommendations to President Algirdas Brazauskas who will make a final decision.

In an interview with Lithuanian radio Brazauskas said the step causes "certain emotions," however the decision seems "absolutely logical." He said Lithuania's leadership cannot wait for "any contacts" from Lozoraitis. The president wondered whether it is Lithuania's interests that are represented in Washington, or somebody else's.

Brazauskas said there are no political aspects in the recall. He said an ambassador should work in close contact with the government, the Foreign Ministry and the president. "We waited for this in vain, although we waited for long."

The intended recall caused discontent of the opposition and Lozoraitis himself.

Landsbergis Condemns Ambassador's Recall

LD0305164993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1615 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius May 3 TASS—Lithuanian Parliament opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis condemned the republic' leaders for their intention to recall Lithuanian Ambassador to the United States Stasys Lozoraitis who contested presidency in the last elections won by Brazauskas.

Landsbergis said in a statement read out at a briefing in the parliament building today that "the decision of the republic's minister of foreign affairs to recall Ambassador of Lithuania to the United States Stasys Lozoraitis is not to the benefit of our state. This is a partisan decision and was probably prompted by personal ambitions of some high-ranking officials, their resentment and revenge-seeking with regard to a rival in the recent presidential elections. These actions will add no popularity to the new leaders either in the United States or in our republic".

The Lithuanian Foreign Minister Professor Povilas Gilys said a few days ago that the Lithuanian leadership intended to replace the present ambassador to the United States and make Lozoraitis Lithuania's ambassador to Italy.

According to Gilys, "the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not receive any information from its embassy in the United States and has no idea about what the embassy is doing. The decision was prompted by this and no other reasons".

Acting Charge Appointed

LD3004152193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Vytautas Cekanauskas, a 64-year-old electronics engineer who is honorary consul in Los Angeles, is to be appointed acting Lithuanian charge d'affaires in the United States after the recall from Washington of Stasys Lozoraitis, the present ambassador.

Foreign Affairs Minister Povilas Gylys announced this yesterday at a meeting of the parliamentary foreign affairs committee. He gave journalists to understand that Cekanauskas is one of the candidates for the post of new ambassador to the United States.

In a telephone interview with the newspaper LIETUVOS RYTAS, Cekanauskas said that he agreed to the preliminary proposal to occupy the post of acting charge d'affaires. Commenting on his political views, he reminded the newspaper of his statement, made after the parliamentary elections, that one should not oppose the will of the people.

Kazys Bobelis, chairman of the parliamentary committee of foreign affairs, told journalists that so far neither the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, nor the president's office, nor the foreign affairs committee have had any contacts with Lozoraitis. According to him, the ambassador did not provide information on processes in the United States concerning Lithuania or on what could be done in the United States for Lithuania's benefit.

The post of ambassador in Rome has been offered to Lozoraitis, but he has promised to give his reply only after receiving information about his recall from the competent persons—that is, the president. Hitherto information about Lithuanian ambassadorial changes has come from the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry.

Envoy Invites Brazauskas To Visit Russia

LD3004184493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Report from the parliament studio by corresponent Vytas Usas]

[Text] President Algirdas Brazauskas received Nikolay Obertyshev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to Lithuania, today. An official invitation by the Russian leadership to visit Russia was handed to Algirdas Brazauskas by the ambassador. A request was expressed at the meeting that the visit should be coordinated with the preparation of specific agreements between Lithuania and Russia.

The meeting of the state negotiation delegations which is due in the near future was also discussed. Algirdas Brazauskas stressed that the pullout of the Russian troops from Lithuania is progressing quite well, therefore it is expected that the troops will be withdrawn on schedule.

Nikolay Obertyshev raised the issue of accommodation for the Russian Embassy. Algirdas Brazauskas promised to look into the matter and to provide assistance as far as possible.

Algirdas Brazauskas handed over a letter of congratulations to Russian President Boris Yeltsin in which he expressed satisfaction with the choice made by the people of Russia and stated with firm belief that it will be a guarantee for good neighborly relations between Lithuania and Russia.

Brazauskas Receives European Parliament Delegation

WS0405103293 Tallinn BNS in English 0803 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 03, BNS—Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas Monday received a delegation of the European parliament for relations with the Baltics, led by Kirsten Jensen.

Participants of the meeting discussed possibilities to start talks on granting a status of an EC associate member to Lithuania. Brazauskas said Lithuania is

seeking closer relations with the EC which is also shown by results of public opinion polls. The population and political parties in Lithuania support this aim.

The meeting also focused on Lithuania's political and economic situation.

The delegation showed exceptional interest in possibilities of Lithuanian agricultural exports to the West and reorientation from dependency on Russian energy resources.

Members of the European parliament will also visit Latvia and Estonia.

Brazauskas Notes Agricultural Output Down 33 Percent

WS0305123893 Tallinn BNS in English 1749 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 01, BNS—Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas at a meeting in a farm community in the northeastern Birzu region Friday expressed regret that Lithuania, which took the lead among the Baltics in the struggle for breaking itself free from the Soviet Union a few years ago, has now lost its position.

He said now Lithuania occupies the last place among the three countries. The president added that farm production in the country last year fell by 33 percent.

Brazauskas said the government has designed a scheme to make food industries pay their long delayed debts to the farmers. Under a ruling to be issued shortly, companies must repay their debts to farmers and farming enterprises within seven days, after which the fine for delay will be 0.5 percent per day.

Brazauskas, Bank Chairman Introduce National Currency

WS0305125693 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1404 GMT 30 Apr 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 238]

[Text] 30 April 1993—President Algirdas Brazauskas, Premier Adolfas Slezevicius and the chairman of the board of the Bank of Lithuania Romualdas Visokavicius signed a statement on the introduction of the litas (the national currency of the Republic of Lithuania). We present the original of the statement.

The Litas committee, understanding the importance of introducing a national currency for the Lithuanian people and for the State, notes:

1. All of Lithuania's provisional currency - talonas will be changed to litas at a uniform rate independent of the total sum. This regulation will apply to the money and deposits of all Lithuanian citizens, to all private, state enterprises, organisations and joint-stock companies.

2. Hard currency deposits, held in Lithuanian banks, will not be compelled to be changed into litas. Depositors will always be able to take back the held sum in hard currency or in litas, according to the day's rate.

3. All monetary resources, in Lithuania or abroad, independent from their origin, are rightfully the physical and juridical property of a person and cannot be confiscated. The money of juridical persons as well as personal enterprises which are carrying out business operations must be registered in the accounts of the Bank of Lithuania or any Lithuanian commercial bank from May 1, 1993 to July 1, 1993. Juridical persons as well as personal enterprises which are carrying out business operations will be able to keep hard currency in foreign banks with a license from the Bank of Lithuania. Civilians, having hard currency accounts in foreign banks or wanting to open them will not require a license from the Bank of Lithuania. The Litas Committee, seeking to stabilize and further develop Lithuania's economy, recommends to hold money in Lithuanian banks, assuring its safety.

4. Only the national currency will function in Lithuania - the litas.

Lita Committee Places Orders for New National Currency

WS0305135993 Tallinn BNS BALTIC BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 2118 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] April 26 - May 2, 1993—Lithuania's national currency committee issued the first orders for this year's long-awaited introduction of the national currency, the lita.

Government To Exchange Coupons for Litas at Fixed Rate

While the Lita Committee refused to provide any details on the exact date of the introduction or the lita-coupon exchange rate, it did spell out some of the ground rules for the currency's introduction.

The committee agreed to a fixed exchange rate for cash and non- cash coupons. Thus, the coupon, like the Latvian rouble, will be viewed as national currency rather than a provisional means of payment. Coupons on denomination will simply be exchanged for litas without a monetary reform.

After its introduction, the lita will be the sole legal tender in Lithuania, said Bank of Lithuania representatives.

The Bank of Lithuania, as well as commercial banks, have been authorized to recalculate deposits of their clients from May 1 to July 1, 1993. Nonetheless, say officials, the order does not suggest a final date for the introduction of the lita. The announcement also left speculators still wondering whether the coupons will be exchanged in a single burst or in a stage-by-stage format.

The lita will be tagged to a certain hard currency, said officials, which runs counter to both of Lithuania's neighbors. The Latvian lat is not tagged to any currency, while Estonians favor their kroon to be firmly tied to the German mark.

In addition, officials plan to tighten the quality requirements for the lita after a poor performance of many of the US-printed notes.

Lithuania Hopes To Maintain Its Hard Currency Deposits

The hard currency accounts deposited at Lithuanian banks will not be automatically exchanged for litas, said the Lita Committee. In addition all the currency resources, deposited either in Lithuania or abroad, regardless of their origin, are deemed as legal property of entities and individuals and shall not be confiscated, the committee said.

To have a currency account abroad, legal entities and individual enterprises need to obtain a licences from the bank of Lithuania; no such licences are required for individuals.

The government plans to require hard-currency shops to switch over solely to coupons.

The Lithuanian provisional means of payment - the coupon - was the least "successful" among the Baltic currencies. Lithuania failed in its attempts to reach lower inflation rates or to stop the issue new paper money.

Economy Minister Presents Economic Program

LD0305180793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 2300 GMT 2 May 93

[Report by correspondent Ilona Rukiene on a news conference given by Economics Minister Julius Veselka in Vilnius on 2 May; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Lithuania must be a country of bankers, science, and industry, [Economics Minister] Julius Veselka said at a news conference. A program for the economic development of the country was presented to journalists. The program was presented to the public by the minister six months after his appointment to his post. We will acquaint you with the program without giving any comment on it.

Here is Ilona Rukiene reporting from the news conference:

[Rukiene] First of all, it should be remembered that Julius Veselka did not present his program—to which he referred to today as another view on the Lithuanian market—either during the election campaign or during his appointment to the post of the minister.

[Veselka] "The reform in Lithuania and the market must already be regarded as a constituent part of the world market. We cannot overestimate the view of the state on the correlation between large enterprises and their amalgamations—concerns, cooperatives, companies, and associations—and small and medium enterprises. We also cannot overestimate the state's view of their appearance and the means to control their functioning.

"I think that it would be a strategic mistake to direct the Lithuanian economy only toward small and medium enterprises. Such enterprises will not be able financially to create and maintain a market system and to create a good reputation for Lithuanian goods in the world. These strategic tasks should be solved by large amalgamations and concerns. However, the influence of small and medium enterprises is not denied here. If there are only small and medium enterprises in Lithuania, then the country will always remain as a subsidiary to one or another state, or to one or another community.

"The monopoly in Lithuania can be overcome only through an open economic system and through going over to the regulation of imports and exports by a highly liberal system of customs tariffs."

[Rukiene] Lithuania can become member of the EEC only when a higher economic level had been achieved. A poor state is not welcome in the EEC, the minister said. According to Veselka, the higher level can be achieved through intensively creating a united market of the Baltic states and through signing agreements on free trade and economic cooperation with other states.

Veselka remarked that declarations had been made about everything he was talking about today a long time ago; however, it was not, unfortunately, actively worked for. The thought was repeated once again that Lithuania can become rich only when it becomes an intermediary between east and west.

[Veselka] "If we play the role of an intermediary, then we will no doubt implement.... [changes thought] The Republic of Lithuania, I absolutely believe, could have a banking system similar to that in Switzerland. Some eastern businessmen—who, indeed, have poor knowledge of the West and are afraid that their money could be confiscated by someone in the East—would gladly invest their money here if we had reliable banks."

[Rukiene] The minister criticized the economic control that has existed until now and the priorities that had been established.

[Veselka] "The priorities that were established and that were based on the idea that everything would be manufactured from local resources would never make Lithuania a rich state and would never integrate Lithuania into the EEC, because what we can make from our raw materials is baked bread, bricks, and tailor suits. Lithuania must be a country of bankers and science and must manufacture relevant goods."

[Rukiene] Lithuania, like any other state, must make a prognosis of its economic development. Speaking about

businessmen, the minister said that, having acquainted themselves with the prognosis for economic development, they should decide whether they wished to participate in the common system. If they did not wish to, the minister stressed, then they should not ask for favorable credits and guarantees from the state. According to Veselka, all the governments that existed until now were preoccupied with the solutions of the problems of the day and did not solve the strategic tasks, the implementation of which did not produce an immediate effect. Therefore, each government left an increasingly collapsing economy.

Unfortunately, this government did not manage to avoid strategic mistakes either. According to the minister, it is a gross mistake to increase wages using foreign credits. The minister has no doubt that it is necessary to help socially deprived people and pensioners. However, this must be done without increasing inflation. He sees the new reserves for budget revenues in the taxation system. Apart from this, a strict control must be introduced into the system of claiming social security benefits.

The minister labeled those who have gone on strike lately as those who wish to return to communism, when everything was divided into equal parts. Everyone must endure the hardships of the most painful period of reforms, Minister Veselka said.

Landsbergis Urges Review of Pacts To Be Signed With Russia

WS0405102493 Tallinn BNS in English 0805 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 03, BNS—Rightist opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis turned up his heat on signing blind documents at a proposed Lithuanian-Russian summit.

Although little has been determined about the summit, Landsbergis insists that President Algirdas Brazauskas should not be able to sign any without a government review.

Brazauskas last week was issued the invitation to Moscow, but neither country has formally coordinated a date or a purpose for the visit. Lithuanian official suggest the two parties may conclude an agreement on the Russian army withdrawal, which they failed to sign Sept. 8.

"Russia is trying to press on various new conditions," charged Landsbergis. "I have grounds to be concerned about the documents that President Brazauskas may sign. Moreover, even the delegation for negotiations does not know about them."

The opposition leader reminded journalists at a press conference Monday that during his visit to Moscow as the parliament chairman last September, President Yeltsin showed documents with his personal notes, even though the agreements had been coordinated by both sides in advance. Landsbergis said it is not yet clear who did one's best to ruin the documents and added that these must have been "Russia's backstairs affairs."

Lithuania later received new draft agreements with new demands, which were unacceptable to Lithuania, he said. Landsbergis mentioned a demand to recognize the property of the Russian army. Other suggestions have now cropped up like giving "a legal status with exceptional rights" to the Russian community in Lithuania.

Landsbergis said it is not clear what kinds of agreements are prepared now and wanted to know exactly what Brazauskas intends to sign in Moscow.